Daily Report

Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-90-082
Friday
27 April 1990

Daily Report
Soviet Union

FBIS-SOV-90-082 CONTENTS *27 April 1990*

NOTICE TO READERS: An * indicates material not disseminated in electronic form.

ARMS CONTROL & DISARMAMENT

Conventional Arms Talks 6th Round Summarized *[TASS]* 1
U.S. General Cited on INF Inspection Results *[TASS]* 1

WORLDWIDE ISSUES

Perfilyev 26 Apr Briefing on World Issues 2
Lithuania Situation *[TASS]* 2
Gorbachev, Latvia Group Meeting *[TASS]* 2
'4 Plus 2' Nations To Meet 5 May *[TASS]* 2
De Maiziere To Visit 29 April *[TASS]* 3
U.S. Resolutions on Jerusalem *[TASS]* 3
Afghanistan Situation *[TASS]* 3
Chemical Weapons Talks *[TASS]* 3
Japan Islands Dispute *[TASS]* 4
TASS Summary 4
Woerner Discusses German Unity, Tactical Weapons *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 25 Apr]* 5
Lending to Countries To Be on 'Commercial' Basis *[Gankovskiy in PRAVDA 25 Apr]* 5
U.S. Seen as Aiming To 'Thwart' Conference *[PRAVDA 21 Apr]* 6
U.S., Japan Obstruct Asia-Pacific Detente *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 26 Apr]* 7

INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

United States & Canada

U.S. 'Prepared To Normalize' Trade Relations *[TASS]* 9
Bessmertnykh, U.S. Businessman Discuss Trade *[IZVESTIYA 26 Apr]* 9
Bush National Security Paper 'Contradictory' *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 22 Apr]* 9
Article Profiles White House 'Apparatchiks' *[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA No 16]* 10
Canada Rules Out Sanctions Against Moscow *[TASS]* 13

China

PRAVDA Reports Li Peng's Visit to Moscow 13
More on Moscow Friendship Meeting *[25 Apr]* 13
Premier Li's News Conference *[26 Apr]* 13
Lukyanov-Li Peng Talks Reported *[26 Apr]* 14
Shevardnadze-Qian Talks Noted *[26 Apr]* 14
Communique on Li Peng Trip Issued *[27 Apr]* 15
Li Peng Arrives in Leningrad, Lays Wreath *[TASS]* 17
Li Peng Ends USSR Visit, Leaves for Home *[TASS]* 17
PRC Official Calls Li Visit 'Complete Success' *[TASS]* 17
Outcome of Gorbachev-Li Peng Talks Viewed *[Moscow International]* 17

Northeast Asia

'Tense Expectation' Reigns in Ulaanbaatar Square *[Moscow Radio]* 18
More on Rally in Ulaanbaatar Square *[Moscow Radio]* 18
Ochirbat Asks for Restraint *[TASS]* 18
Mongolian State Security Structure Reorganized *[TASS]* 19
Kim Il-song, Family Members Elected Deputies *[IZVESTIYA 25 Apr]* 19
USSR-DPRK Cooperation Meeting Held 24 Apr *[TASS]* 20
Light Industry Cooperation With Ukraine Noted *[Moscow International]* 20
Samsung Participates in Moscow Hotel Construction *[Moscow International]* 20

Near East & South Asia

Gorbachev Sends Congratulations to Najibullah *[Moscow International]* 21
Syria's Al-Asad Arrives in Moscow 27 Apr *[TASS]* 21
U.S. Mainly to Blame for Mideast Tensions *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 24 Apr]* 21
Prospects for Iran-U.S. Rapprochement Viewed *[Moscow International]* 23
Casualties in Kathmandu, Curfew Reported *[IZVESTIYA 25 Apr]* 23
Saudis Donate One Million Korans to Soviet Muslims *[IZVESTIYA 24 Apr]* 23
Iraqi Public Figure Dies in Moscow 22 Apr *[TASS]* 24

East Europe

USSR Ready for 'Friendly Links' With Albania *[Moscow International]* 24
Return of Violence to Bucharest Streets Reported *[PRAVDA 26 Apr]* 25
Action Aims to 'Discredit' Iliescu *[IZVESTIYA 26 Apr]* 25
GDR Premier's Interview in German Paper Cited *[IZVESTIYA 25 Apr]* 25
Rakowski Ponders Polish Communists' Errors *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 26 Apr]* 26
U.S. WWII Servicemen Honored in CSFR *[Moscow TV]* 28
Anti-Soviet 'Vandalism' in East Europe Viewed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 25 Apr]* 28
Roundtable on East European Developments *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 25 Apr]* 28

West Europe

Former NATO Head on Worries Over German Unity *[PRAVDA 25 Apr]* 31
Envoy to UK Speaks to European-Atlantic Group *[TASS]* 31
Supreme Soviet's Dzasokhov on Visit to France *[IZVESTIYA 26 Apr]* 31
Bakatin Holds Talks With Italian Counterpart *[Moscow TV]* 32
Delegation Departs for San Marino CP Congress *[TASS]* 32
CPSU Greetings to Congress Published *[PRAVDA 27 Apr]* 32
Gorbachev Sends Message to Austria's Waldheim *[TASS]* 33
Bakatin Signs Cooperation Agreement in Cyprus *[TASS]* 33
Bakatin Continues Cyprus Visit *[TASS]* 33
Commentary Views New Greek Government's Program *[Moscow International]* 33
KGB Border Chief Concludes Visit to Finland *[TASS]* 34
Natural Gas Deposit To Be Exploited With Norway *[TASS]* 34
Norway Says Sunken Submarine Should be Left *[Moscow Radio]* 34

Latin America & Caribbean

Nicaraguan President Receives Soviet Delegation *[TASS]* 34
'Cooperation' With Nicaragua To Continue *[PRAVDA 22 Apr]* 35
Cuban Economic, Trade Balance Problems Viewed *[LITERATURNAYA GAZETA No 16]* 35

NATIONAL AFFAIRS

Supreme Soviet Session

Moscow TV Carries 26 Apr Supreme Soviet Session 39
Constitutional Supervisory Committee Discussed 39
Union-Republic Relations Debated 40
Deputies Offer Proposals 40
Article by Article Vote Continues 41
Debate Continues 42
Proposals, Amendments Discussed 43
Law on Delimiting Union Powers Passed 43
Supreme Soviet Constitutional Committee Discussed *[Moscow Radio]* 44
Committee To Be Sworn In *[TASS]* 45
Deputy Critcizes Lithuanian Blockade *[Moscow Radio]* 45
Supreme Soviet Delineates Union-Republic Powers *[TASS]* 46
Debate on Enterprise Taxes Resumed *[TASS]* 47
Supreme Soviet Absenteeism Examined *[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 15]* 47

Political & Social

Ideology Secretaries Debate CPSU Strategy *[PRAVDA 25 Apr]* 49
28th Congress Preparatory Commission Set Up *[TASS]* 50
Komsomol Congress Declaration Published *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 24 Apr]* 50
Contest Initiated for Draft Concept of New Union *[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 15]* 51

PRAVDA Editorial on Party Press Tasks *[24 Apr]* 51
Readers Offer Precongress Suggestions *[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 15]* 52
Lukyanov Receives Soviet German Representatives *[TASS]* 54
Regular Meetings Desired *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 22 Apr]* 54
General Yazov Meets With WWII Veterans *[Moscow Radio]* 54
Benefits for War Veterans Improved *[PRAVDA 21 Apr]* 54
Universality of Socialist Values Proclaimed *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 14 Apr]* 56
'Rationed' Reforms Seen Courting Backlash *[IZVESTIYA 24 Apr]* 57
Krutov Marks Anniversary of Lenin's Birth *[Moscow TV]* 61
Leninist Methodology and Perestroyka Discussed *[PRAVDA 21 Apr]* 61
Presidential Decree Honors Sportsman *[Moscow Radio]* 61
Antinuclear Movement Set Up in North *[TASS]* 61
Expedition Plane Crashes in Chukchi Peninsula *[TASS]* 61
English Version of IZVESTIYA Published *[PRAVDA 20 Apr]* 62
New Ecological Journal Published *[Moscow Radio]* 62

Economic

Ryzhkov Discusses Transition to Market Economy *[TASS]* 62
New Trade Union Council Chairman Elected *[TRUD 18 Apr]* 63
More Rapid Approach to Market Prices Urged *[EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN No 12]* 63
Official Says Oil Obligations To Be Fulfilled *[TASS]* 66

Scientific

Molniya-1 Communications Satellite Launched *[TASS]* 66
Telethon Raises Funds for Chernobyl Victims 67
Over R3 Million Donated *[TASS]* 67
Millions Watching *[TASS]* 67
Progress of Telethon *[TASS]* 67

REGIONAL AFFAIRS

Baltic Republics

Mitterrand, Kohl Urge Vilnius-Moscow Talks *[TASS]* 69
Landsbergis To Study Letter *[AFP]* 69
Truck Drivers Protest Independence Declaration *[TASS]* 70
Action Organized by Party *[Vilnius Radio]* 70
Situation Analyzed *[Vilnius Radio]* 70
Ryzhkov on Conditions for Lithuanian Talks *[Moscow TV]* 70
Report on Workers' Disunity at Klaipeda Yard *[Moscow TV]* 71
Panic Buying Depletes Shops in Lithuania *[TASS]* 72
Bickauskas Declines Comment on Moscow Meeting *[Vilnius Radio]* 72
Landsbergis Predicts Blockade Will Be Ineffective *[Vilnius Radio]* 72
Lithuanian Official Issues Statement on Blockade *[Vilnius Radio]* 72
Lithuanian Claims of Rail Blockade Denied *[IZVESTIYA 27 Apr]* 73
Railway Official on Transport, Rolling Stock *[Vilnius Radio]* 73
Future of Lithuanian Situation Viewed *[MOSCOW NEWS No 16]* 74
PRAVDA Vilnius Correspondent Resigns *[Vilnius International]* 76
Sajudis Leader on Lithuanian Defense Options *[MOSCOW NEWS No 16]* 76
Correspondent Reports on Lithuanian Procuracy *[Moscow Radio]* 76
Secretariat Member Views Visit to Lithuania *[Milan L'UNITA 25 Apr]* 77
Party Official on Civil Committees' Congress *[TASS]* 79
Lithuanian Chernobyl Victims Seek Medical Help *[Vilnius Radio]* 79
Lithuania's Prunskiene Interviewed in Copenhagen
[Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE 23 Apr] 79
Lithuanian Attempts Self-Immolation in Moscow *[Moscow TV]* 80
Lithuanian Dies *[TASS]* 80
Savisaar Interviewed on Coalition Government *[MOSCOW NEWS No 16]* 81
No 'Dangerous Goods' in Latvian Train Crash *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 27 Apr]* 81

RSFSR

Reportage on Gorbachev Meeting at Youth Center 81
Gusev Opens Meeting *[TASS]* 81
Gorbachev Addresses Crowd *[Moscow Radio]* 81
Gorbachev Views Economy, Conversion With Public *[Moscow International]* 83

Gorbachev Sees Need for 'Turn' in Perestroyka *[TASS]* 83
Emphasizes Need To Avert Civil War *[Moscow International]* 84
Gorbachev Meets With Scientists in Sverdlovsk *[Moscow TV]* 84
Gorbachev Remarks Stress Science, Technology *[Moscow Radio]* 85
Gorbachev Repeats Call for Lithuanian Referendum *[TASS]* 86
Gorbachev To Visit Industries in Nizhniy Tagil *[Moscow Radio]* 86
Discusses Defense Conversion *[TASS]* 86
Will Meet Local Activists *[TASS]* 86
Meets Railcar Workers *[Moscow Radio]* 87
PRAVDA on Gorbachev's Tour of Sverdlovsk *[27 Apr]* 87
Gorbachev Tours Ural Supermarket, Plant *[Moscow TV]* 88
Discusses Price Reform *[Moscow Radio]* 89
More on Gorbachev Meeting With Uralmash Workers *[TRUD 26 Apr]* 90
Discusses Monetary Reform *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 26 Apr]* 91
Moscow TV Covers Gorbachev Uralmash Tour 92
Luzhkov Elected Executive Committee Chairman *[Moscow Radio]* 94
Vows Market Planning Switch *[SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA 27 Apr]* 94
Moscow Soviet Chairman's Plans Outlined *[RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA 22 Apr]* 94
Further Reporting on Work of Moscow City Soviet *[IZVESTIYA 22 Apr]* 96
Gidaspov Reelected Leningrad Party Chief *[TASS]* 97
Leningrad Communists Meet, Criticize Open Letter *[TASS]* 97
Report on Leningrad Rally Supporting Lithuania *[EKHO LITVY 10 Apr]* 97
Lenin Rally Example of 'Authorized' Event *[KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA 25 Apr]* 98
Leningrad Party Plenum Prepares for Conference *[LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA 22 Mar]* 98
Leningrad Oblast, City Committees Hold Conferences *[Moscow Radio]* 99
Cooperation Stressed *[Moscow Radio]* 99
Report on Meeting of Democratic Russian Deputies *[ARGUMENTY I FAKTY No 16]* 99
Ligachev, Stroyev Attend Oblast Party Conferences *[PRAVDA 26 Apr]* 100
Tyumen Oblast Conference Reports on Party Meeting *[Moscow Radio]* 100
Bashkir Oblast Selects New First Secretary *[Moscow Radio]* 100

Western Republics

USSR Marks 4th Anniversary of Chernobyl 100
Ryzhkov Cites Cleanup Figures *[Moscow International]* 100
Religious Services Held *[TASS]* 100
Gomel Workers Stage One-Day Strike *[TASS]* 101
Pilot Plant To Decontaminate Chernobyl Planned *[TASS]* 101
Ukrainian KGB Discusses Smuggling of Goods *[PRAVDA 26 Apr]* 101
Ukraine Increases Public Disorder Penalties *[IZVESTIYA 26 Apr]* 102
Student Clash With Police Reported in Kiev *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 4 Apr]* 102
Voroshilovgrad Appeals to Rename Oblast *[IZVESTIYA 24 Apr]* 102

Caucasus

Drivers Halt Freight Trains in Armenian Rayon *[SELSKAYA ZHIZN 27 Apr]* 102
Azerbaijan Party Official Interviewed *[BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY 13 Apr]* 103
More on Armenia-Azerbaijan Rail Accord *[IZVESTIYA 24 Apr]* 105
Georgian Interfront Initiative Discussed *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 26 Apr]* 105

Central Asia

Kazakhstan's Supreme Soviet Session Continues 106
Nazarbayev Elected President *[PRAVDA 25 Apr]* 106
Officials Elected *[Alma-Ata Radio]* 106
Karamanov Confirmed as Premier *[Moscow Radio]* 107
New President Interviewed *[Moscow TV]* 107
Turkish Envoy Meets Kazakhstan Officials *[Alma-Ata Radio]* 107
Two New Weeklies Published in Kazakhstan *[IZVESTIYA 24 Apr]* 108
'Hooligans' Defile Lenin Monument Despite Guard *[KRASNAYA ZVEZDA 26 Apr]* 108
Tashkent Oblast Hit by Expected Mudslide *[IZVESTIYA 25 Apr]* 108

Conventional Arms Talks 6th Round Summarized

LD2604181790 Moscow TASS in English 1633 GMT 26 Apr 90

[By TASS Correspondent Vladimir Smelov]

[Text] Vienna April 26 TASS—At today's full-delegation session on the sixth round of talks on conventional armed forces in Europe, the Soviet delegation tabled a draft protocol on procedures concerning conventional arms that fall under the provisions of a treaty on conventional armed forces in Europe.

The sixth round of the talks is over. The talks involve 23 Warsaw Treaty and North Atlantic Treaty member-states.

The procedures, proposed by the USSR, would regulate the destruction, conversion, or rendering inoperational of conventional arms.

The draft protocol is important because the elimination of the cutback arms and hardware is one of the priority topics that was discussed substantively for the first time during this round of the talks.

The Soviet delegation believes that these procedures should apply to the above mentioned arms and hardware. By means of these procedures, negotiators would strive to reach treaty-defined levels within a specified time limit in order to fulfil pledges to reduce military confrontation.

This round of talks was notable for its intensive search for solutions, compromises and accords on the entire spectrum of technical issues that will constitute the skeleton of the first agreement on conventional armed forces.

Considerable headway has been made in terms of disarmament standards. The framework of the future treaty becomes increasingly visible, with new packages of specific accords and agreed texts being added to it every passing day.

Much has been accomplished as regards verification and the exchange of information. As a result, the negotiators are now close to finalising the coordination of a number of key sections of the above-mentioned document.

This was to a large extent promoted by a draft protocol on inspections, prepared with due account of the positions of the west and recently introduced by the delegation of the German Democratic Republic on behalf of the Warsaw Treaty member-states.

This round of talks was marked by a number of undoubtedly positive aspects, making it possible that an agreement will be concluded this year, Ambassador at Large Oleg Grinevskiy, the leader of the Soviet delegation, told a news conference here.

"However we feel no euphoria over the state of affairs at the talks. Moreover, estimating the distance that has yet to be covered and comparing it with how matters are being handled at the forum, one become[s] concerned.

"An obvious slowdown in our advance can be observed. The delegations' experts often leave sessions with uncoordinated texts. Leaders of Warsaw Treaty and NATO countries unambiguously support expediting the talks and politically support them.

"However, it seems that when matters turn to specific work, impulses sent from above are somehow muffled at the level of Western experts in Hofburg Palace. These reasons explain why we have yet to agree on definitions for tanks, armoured cars and helicopters," Grinevskiy said.

U.S. General Cited on INF Inspection Results

LD2604174690 Moscow TASS in English 1630 GMT 26 Apr 90

[By TASS Correspondent Stanislav Lunev]

[Text] Washington April 26 TASS—Experience accumulated by the Soviet and American sides in monitoring the Soviet-American treaty on the elimination of intermediate- and shorter-range missiles can be used to draft and implement new agreements on arms control, including an agreement on the reduction of strategic offensive weapons, on-side inspection agency director Roland Lajoie, said to journalists on Wednesday.

According to Lajolie, inspectors from his agency, which is subordinate to the U.S. Defence Department, have carried out 328 inspections since the time the Soviet-American INF Treaty entered into force.

The break-down of these inspections is as follows: 97 inspections to monitor the destruction of Soviet missiles covered by the treaty, 34 short-notice inspections to verify the observance of the treaty by the Soviet side, 80 inspections to verify the closure of Soviet missile facilities and 117 inspections to monitor conformity of real data to those declared at the time the treaty was concluded.

The general noted that Soviet inspectors conducted 135 inspections to monitor the observance of the treaty by the American side.

There were 61 inspections to monitor the destruction of Pershings and land-based cruise missiles, 36 short-notice inspections, seven inspections of closed U.S. missile bases and other facilities and 31 inspections to monitor conformity of real data to those declared at a time the treaty was concluded.

Lajoie noted that since the INF Treaty went into effect, the U.S. side has destroyed 480 out of 846 intermediate- and shorter-range missiles covered by the treaty. The Soviet side has eliminated 1,590 out of 1,846 similar missile systems.

Perfilyev 26 Apr Briefing on World Issues

Lithuania Situation

LD2604164390 Moscow TASS in English 1627 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev has described actions by the Lithuanian leadership "around the issue of Lithuanian independence" as "an artificial and unsound gamble."

Commenting on the situation that has formed around Lithuania at a briefing here today, Perfilyev emphasised that he did not express the official position of the Soviet leadership. He was reporting on a specific analysis of the developments concerning Lithuania that was made at the Soviet Foreign Ministry.

"Sound voices calling for a compromise political settlement of the situation, which are being heard now even in the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, are ignored for the present," Perfilyev said.

He stressed, at the same time, that "definite conditions, which have been absent until now, should be created" for a dialogue with representatives of Lithuania.

First, "talks are impossible" until "the decisions passed by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, which challenge our union" remain in force. He emphasised that "it is a matter of principle rather than form." "It is not as essential which way out of the situation will be taken—the respective cuts could be either suspended or rescinded," he clarified. "It is important that the Soviet leadership is not presented with operating unilateral measures."

Second, the Lithuanian leadership wants the sides at the talks to have the status of states or for the talks to be conducted as between an occupying and an occupied state, Perfilyev went on. "However, this would simply be at odds with the truth. This is not the path which should evidently be followed," he said.

Third, the sides at the talks should "show some respect for each other," Perfilyev said. In view of this, he said that "glaring disrespect for the USSR president is manifest in the Lithuanian mass media."

"Insulting caricatures are published and ungrounded accusations against him are made. This campaign does not help to begin talks," Perfilyev stressed.

In conclusion Perfilyev emphasised that his statements demonstrated that the Lithuanian leadership "has the opportunity to facilitate the beginning of a dialogue with the USSR leadership and the speediest political solution to all these problems.

At the same time, Perfilyev said that "the central leadership is, undoubtedly, waiting for respective measures to promote a political statement."

Gorbachev, Latvia Group Meeting

LD2604165790 Moscow TASS in English 1559 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev described at a briefing here today President Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting on April 19 with a Latvian delegation led by Anatoliy Gorbunov, president of the Presidium of the Latvian Supreme Soviet.

The delegation comprised Vilnis-Edvins Bresis, chairman of the Council of Ministers, Dainis Ivans, chairman of the Latvian Popular Front, and Ilmara Biser, deputy chairman of the Soviet parliament's Council of Nationalities.

Having described the meeting as "symbolic", Perfilyev said it aimed to prepare ground for talks between groups of experts "on future relations between central and republican bodies and on ways to advance this dialogue."

Two major directions were proposed, Perfilyev said. If Latvia opts for independence from the USSR, it "will have to abide fully by the law on secession from the Soviet Union."

If Latvia decides to stay within the USSR, "the Soviet leadership would agree to begin talks on the considerable expansion of Latvia's political and economic independence within the framework of the USSR."

"A third way is also possible, under which Latvia could be granted a special status within the Soviet Union, and relations with it would be built on principles of a confederacy," Perfilyev said.

He drew correspondents' attention to the proposal "for the republic's special status within the USSR," saying that "it is viewed in Latvia as a great step forward." According to the Soviet Foreign Ministry, "a Latvian delegation is planning to fly to Moscow to discuss this proposal."

Perfilyev emphasised that the Latvian delegation was told at the April 19 meeting that "the adoption of unilateral measures contradicting Soviet constitutional order would lead to the immediate termination of negotiations."

'4 Plus 2' Nations To Meet 5 May

LD2604170390 Moscow TASS in English 1623 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—"As agreed by the parties, the foreign ministers of the German Democratic Republic, West Germany, the USSR, the United States, Britain and France will meet in Bonn on May 5 to discuss the foreign aspects of building German unity," Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told a briefing here today.

He said the Soviet Union attached great importance to the operation of the six-nation mechanism at the foreign minister level and express hope that the talks would

result in a good foundation for continuing the work, including at the level of experts.

De Maiziere To Visit 29 April

LD2604171590 Moscow TASS in English 1636 GMT 26 apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—"As agreed by the sides, German Democratic Republic Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere will pay a working visit to the Soviet Union on April 29," Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev told a briefing here today.

"De maiziere is expected to be received by the USSR president, to conduct talks with his Soviet counterpart and to confer with soviet ministers," Perfilyev said.

Asked what Moscow expected from the visit of the GDR leader, Perfilyev noted that "permanent friendly contacts with the German Democratic Republic, which are maintained at various levels, enable the sides to understand each other's position better."

"Our countries have relations in a great diversity of areas, which we, undoubtedly, aspire to develop. We proceed from the premise that the two countries' leaders are interested in directly exchanging views, including on the situation in East Europe and on German unification," Perfilyev said.

He said that the dialogue on the German question "is of a continual nature" and "both sides know each other's positions well."

Perfilyev noted the forthcoming meeting of six states to discuss the foreign aspects of German unity. The conference will involve representatives of the Soviet Union and the GDR. In this regard, he said the discussion of this issue between the USSR and the GDR was "very timely."

U.S. Resolutions on Jerusalem

LD2604182790 Moscow TASS in English 1811 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev described a resolution recognizing a united Jerusalem as the capital of Israel, which was adopted by the U.S. Senate following its passage in the House of Representatives of the U.S. Congress, as being at odds with international law.

At a briefing here today, Perfilyev emphasised that, under United Nations resolutions, eastern Jerusalem is an inalienable part of the Israeli-occupied West Bank.

He said the decisions by both chambers of the U.S. Congress contradict the stance of the U.S. Administration, which, judging by its statements, favours defining a final status during talks for a comprehensive settlement between Arab states and Israel.

"The action by the U.S. Congress causes still greater regret because it harms efforts to launch a Middle Eastern peace process, including a Palestine-Israeli dialogue, which was favoured by the Palestinian leadership," Perfilyev said.

"The ball is now in the court of Israel, which, we hope, will make a correct choice in favour of the policy of reason and peace," Perfilyev said.

Afghanistan Situation

LD2604183590 Moscow TASS in English 1819 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev, at a briefing in the Soviet Foreign Ministry's press centre today, drew journalists' attention to remarks voiced at the Kabul Moslem conference on the eve of the 'Id al-Fitr holiday and the 12th anniversary of the April revolution.

Speakers at the Moslem forum pointed out, he said, that the present Afghan leadership's national reconciliation policy accords with the spirit and letter of Islam while the "jihad" slogan, which is still being used by rebel groups to enlist militants to fight the central government, becomes senseless in present conditions.

It is significant, Perfilyev said, that about 150,000 members of rebel groups no longer engage in combat operations against the state power. At the same time the most extremist-minded proportion of the opposition has launched wholesale killing of civilians in large Afghan cities, primarily those in Kabul, on the plea that strikes are ostensibly delivered against military facilities.

Whatever the explanations of barbarity, statistics of the bombardments of Kabul speak for themselves, Perfilyev said.

Having recalled that all combat operations should cease in accordance with the canons of Islam during the holy month of Ramadan which ended on Wednesday, Perfilyev said that militants of "Islamic parties" fired 81 missiles on Kabul during the month.

Perfilyev also focussed on latest remarks by Afghan President Najibullah who urged the leaders of Moslem states and prominent Islamic figures to render assistance in the cause of Afghan settlement.

Chemical Weapons Talks

LD2604193690 Moscow TASS in English 1851 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—The results of the 15th round of Soviet-U.S. bilateral consultations on a ban on chemical weapons, drawing to a close in Geneva today, were summed up by Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev at a briefing here.

Special attention during this round of consultations was devoted to finalising the elaboration of a bilateral agreement on the Soviet Union's and the United States' mutual obligations before a multilateral convention is

concluded. Such an agreement would include the elimination of their stocks of chemical weapons down to equally low levels.

Progress has been achieved, and discussions aimed at resolving the remaining issues are being continued.

In addition, the two sides emphasised that human and environmental safety will be a priority during the elimination of chemical weapons under a bilateral agreement, Perfilyev said. The two sides agreed that the stocks of chemical weapons will be reduced by each side down to the level of 5,000 tons.

Another priority sphere of consultations, Perfilyev said, was the implementation of the memorandum of understanding reached in Wyoming by the Soviet foreign minister and the U.S. secretary of state.

Efforts were continued to establish trust between the Soviet Union and the United States concerning the chemical capability of the other side.

The delegations also exchanged information in view of preparations for visits by representatives of the two countries to chemical weapons storage and production facilities and chemical industry plants.

Such visits will be exchanged in June and August of this year and then at the beginning of 1991. In all, there will be seven visits to each country, he said.

The sides also intensified efforts in the field of bilateral cooperation towards the elimination of chemical weapons and continued discussions to expedite the conclusion of a multilateral convention banning chemical weapons, Perfilyev said.

Bilateral discussions on a ban on chemical weapons will be continued at a regular foreign ministers' meeting, the spokesman said. Mutual hope was expressed during this round of discussions that it would be possible to sign a bilateral agreement on chemical weapons at the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit, Perfilyev said.

Japan Islands Dispute

LD2704112390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1623 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow, 26 Apr (TASS)—In the Soviet Union, attention was paid to Shin Kanemaru's statement on a compromise solution to the problem of the "Northern Territories," Vadim Perfiliyev, first deputy chief of the USSR Foreign Ministry information Directorate, declared at a briefing today.

According to mass media reports, this eminent figure in [Japan's] ruling LIberal Democratic Party expressed the opinion that the simultaneous return of all four islands in accordance with the previous basic course of the Japanese Government should not be stubbornly insisted upon; rather it is essential to search for a solution to this issue on the basis, in the first instance, of a return, as soon as possible, of two islands to Japan. Thus, as was noted in the Japanese press, the influential representative of the ruling circles of this country has come forward publicly with such an idea for the first time.

At the same time, Vadim Perfiliyev declared that in the USSR attention was also paid to the statement by the official representatives of the Japanese Government who confirmed the immutability of the official Japanese position, comprising the demand for "the simultaneous return of the four islands."

Returning to Shin Kanemaru's statement, the Foreign Ministry representative noted that recently, among Japanese academics, journalists, and politicians, various opinions have been expressed on the so-called "territorial problem" which differ from the official position of the Japanese Government.

"It seems to us," he said, "such statements reflect the understanding of the groundlessness and lack of prospects for the current position of the Japanese Government in this issue and concern about the current, essentially stagnant state of Soviet-Japanese relations, which has arisen because of the stated position of the Japanese Government."

They simultaneously reflect the striving to find some kind of outcomes, ways out of the situation which has taken shape, noted the diplomat, who attributed Shin Kanemaru's pronouncement to precisely "such a category of statments."

TASS Summary

LD2604194890 Moscow TASS in English 1903 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—Commenting on the situation around "the issue of Lithuanian independence" at a briefing here today, Soviet Foreign Ministry spokesman Vadim Perfilyev said there are possibilities for its settlement.

He stressed, at the same time, that "definite conditions, which have been absent until now, should be created" for a dialogue with representatives of Lithuania.

First, "talks are impossible" as long as "the decisions passed by the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet, which challenges our union" remain in force. "It is important that the Soviet leadership is not presented with operating unilateral measures," he said.

At the same time, Perfilyev said that "the central leadership is, undoubtedly, waiting for corresponding measures to promote a political settlement."

Perfilyev described President Mikhail Gorbachev's meeting on April 19 with a Latvian delegation led by Anatoliy Gorbunov, president of the Presidium of the Latvian Supreme Soviet.

Perfilkyev said the meeting aimed to prepare ground for talks on future relations between central and republican bodies.

One of the variants discussed "is also possible, under which Latvia could be granted a special status within the

Soviet Union, and relations with it would be built on principles of a confederacy," Perfilyev said.

He drew correspondents' attention to the proposal "for the republic's special status within the USSR," saying that "it is viewed in Latvia as a great step forward."

As agreed by the sides, German Democratic Republic Prime Minister Lothar de Maiziere will pay a working visit to the Soviet Union on April 29," [no opening quotation marks as received] Perfilyev told the briefing.

Speaking of Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng's official visit to the Soviet Union, Perfilyev pointed to Soviet and Chinese foreign ministers' meeting on Wednesday.

Eduard Shevardnadze and Qian Qichen discussed the Albanian issue. It was noted that the Soviet Union could have evaded the break of relations with Albania, Perfilyev said.

He recalled Shevardnadze's words that the Soviet Union is not going to decline its share of responsibility for what happened. The Soviet Union took notice of a recent statement by the Albanian leadership's representative that it is ready to restore diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union.

"We can only hail such a statement and we are ready to restore and develop friendly relations with Albania on the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity, noninterference in internal relations and mutual interest," Perfilyev said.

Czechoslovak Foreign Ministry's memorandum on the establishment of a commission for European security, based in Prague, and estimates it contains are "of interest" and "on the whole, coincide with our approaches," Perfilyev said.

Czechoslovakia's proposal has a lot in common with Soviet and other European countries' proposals, he added.

Woerner Discusses German Unity, Tactical Weapons

PM2604104390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Apr 90 First Edition p 3

[TASS correspondent A. Sisnev report: "M. Woerner's Press Conference"]

[Text] London, 24 Apr—The NATO countries are building new relations with the Warsaw Pact states, NATO Secretary General Manfred Woerner stated at a press conference at the Foreign Press Association. These relations will be an important element of the future European security structure and will be based on the principles of cooperation.

We do not view the USSR as an enemy, the NATO secretary general noted. We regard it as a potential partner in maintaining security.

M. Woerner's comments constantly expressed the idea that despite the positive changes in the world there can be no question in the foreseeable future either of disbanding NATO or of turning it into a purely political organization.

On the problem of German unification, M. Woerner insisted that the single German state must belong to NATO. He asserted that the creation of a neutral Germany would not be in the interests of all countries, including the USSR.

Replying to your TASS correspondent's question on plans mentioned in the press on the deployment of 450 new air-launched U.S. tactical nuclear missiles in Western Europe after 1995, the NATO secretary general stated that after a conventional arms agreement is reached in Vienna it will be possible to open talks on tactical nuclear arms on the continent. However, in M. Woerner's words, it must always be remembered that the USSR has a considerable advantage in tactical nuclear facilities deployed in Europe. Nevertheless, I do not know about the plans you mention, M. Woerner said.

It is strange to hear a NATO secretary general saying that he knows nothing about plans to deploy new U.S. tactical nuclear missiles in Western Europe, a fact which has been reported a number of times in the press. Clearly, the commentators who point out that these plans are not being given special publicity for fear that they may cause discontent among the West European countries' population are right.

Lending to Countries To Be on 'Commercial' Basis

PM2704093190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Apr 90 Second Edition p 2

[V. Gankovskiy "Commentary for the Newspaper" under the rubric "Economic Panorama": "About Our Credits"]

[Text] Moscow—The Soviet press recently published for the first time information about who owes our country how much. The billions of rubles in question give rise to quite understandable feelings in the context of mounting economic difficulties. Nevertheless, financial interrelations are not the best sphere in which to leap to emotional conclusions.

The idea of reducing credits to our foreign partners, including a number of CEMA countries, is quickly becoming something of a slogan. Some people see it as almost a criterion of civic responsibility.

In fact the situation is different. No country in the world can curtail existing relations with its contract partners without the risk of suffering serious economic losses itself. For example, how can we stop buying abroad goods that we do not produce at all or produce only at great expense? This includes coffee, cocoa, tea, and raw materials for producing aluminum, nickel, and so on. And if we stop importing citrus fruits, then we will simply put the population's health at risk, given the scarcity of our own "vitamin-rich" produce.

What do we offer in return? Raw materials are mainly sold on long-term contracts to the West and to some East European countries. There is no question of food or industrial products in mass demand. What remains (apart from weapons) is a sizable group of machines and equipment. Admittedly, they cannot always compete with analogous output from other suppliers, but, all the same, they are quite widely purchased from us by many Afro-Asian and Latin American countries.

However, deliveries of complete sets of equipment—and such is international practice everywhere!—are made on credit. Hence the uncompromising conclusion that if the Soviet Union wants to receive goods from its partners, it cannot refuse them long-term intergovernmental and export credits.

It is another matter that credits must be granted sensibly, that is, firm guarantees must be obtained from the borrowers with respect to time limits and the total fulfillment of debt repayment obligations. The debtor's ability to pay and the future dynamics of the prices of his export goods must be known at the time the agreement is signed.

Unfortunately, so far this has frequently been done in a very "rough and ready" way. As a result, over the last 30 years our country has on many occasions revised, with considerable detriment to itself, the terms and procedure for the repayment of debts by a whole series of other countries after they have been granted credits and used them. We have magnanimously granted such privileges, in particular the possibility of refinancing and deferring payment, to Guinea, Indonesia, Mali, Madagascar, the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, Congo, Somalia, Tanzania, Uganda, and other countries.

The Somali Government was granted such privileges, for example, back in the mid-1960's. As a result, tens of millions of rubles were irrevocably lost.

By agreement with Indonesia, the timetable for the repayment of its debt to us was once "lengthened" by 30 years, right up to the year 2000. The sums were "recalculated" to the tune of R700 million on terms unfavorable to the Soviet Union.

Indonesia is a country that exports petroleum, and during the period of rising oil prices it managed to radically improve its financial position in around two years. But by our generous gesture we found ourselves in a complicated situation, and the country bore losses of many billions.

It must be admitted that the blame for such losses lies not just with officials at the former USSR State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, but also with the political leadership, which regarded credits less as a form of commercial relations than as an instrument for realizing the USSR's noneconomic interests in the international arena.

Now it seems that the need has been realized to deideologize interstate relations and therefore to place the country's foreign economic ties on a commercial footing. In particular, the center of gravity of credit and financial cooperation with some developing countries could be transferred from the granting of credits to the provision of investments in the form of contributions by the USSR to the capital of joint ventures.

But this certainly does not mean that our state should cease granting credits to its partners if there are reliable guarantees that the debt will be repaid.

U.S. Seen as Aiming To 'Thwart' Conference

PM2404115590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Apr 90 Second Edition p 5

[Article by Oleg Skalkin under the "Standpoint" rubric: "Conference in Question"]

[Text] The latest session of the UN Ad Hoc Committee on the Indian Ocean began sensationally in New York the other day with the United States, Britain, and France unexpectedly announcing their withdrawal from the committtee. They were followed by a number of other Western states which decided not to take part in its work. This, judging by all the signs, was no strange coincidence of circumstances but a clearly coordinated action.

By direct decision of the UN General Assembly the present session of the ad hoc committee was to prepare and agree a final document on the international conference on the Indian Ocean, expected to be held this year. After the demarche by the United States and its supporters the question of the conference again hangs in mid-air, as it were. It is supposed, after all, to serve as the means of implementing the UN General Assembly Declaration on the Indian Ocean as a Zone of Peace. But to talk about a zone of peace in that region without appropriate commitments on the part of those who have for decades pursued a militarist policy there is a futile activity, to say the least.

During the 18 years of the ad hoc committee's existence a date has been fixed for an international conference on the Indian Ocean at least six times and postponed just as often. The United States is reluctant to discuss a problem which raises in any way the question of the Pentagon's activity in that part of the world. Washington has proclaimed the whole Indian Ocean region, including the Persian Gulf and Southeast [as published] Asia, its "third strategic zone." There are around 30 American bases in operation from the east coast of Africa to Australia. A U.S. naval task force consisting of dozens of warships is permanently in the region. Strategic bombers are based on Diego Garcia island. U.S. Central Command, which oversees the "third strategic zone," has around 300,000 Army and Navy servicemen at its disposal. And one could go on adding to this list. For example, the buildup of military might by Pakistan and Thailand, the American-Philippine confrontation over bases in the Philippines, and many other phenomena complicating the international life of continental and littoral states of the region, where around 1.5 billion people live, are directly linked to U.S. militarist activity in the region.

Everyone knows that the idea of demilitarizing the Indian Ocean and turning it into a zone of peace was conceived in the region itself, within the nonaligned movement. The backing for it shown by the international community at the 26th General Assembly Session, in 1971, was, among other things, a measure of the growing influence of the countries of the so-called Third World on relations among the peoples. This initiative remains at the center of international attention today.

It is appropriate to recall here that in supporting the UN decisions our country has repeatedly made specific proposals to the American Administration on strengthening military-political stability and security in that part of the planet and throughout the Asia-Pacific region. They are contained in M.S Gorbachev's Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk speeches and were put forward during the Soviet leader's visit to India in November 1986.

The voting on the aforementioned UN General Assembly resolution on a zone of peace in the Indian Ocean was as follows: There were 137 delegations for, 14 abstentions, and only 4 against. But this overwhelming support is clearly no argument as far as the United States is concerned. For 18 years running, with the participation of a number of its closest allies, it has sought to thwart the holding of an international conference on the Indian Ocean. And when these opportunities were exhausted within the ad hoc committee framework, it decided to slam the door altogether. A pretty strange stance on the part of those who so often set about instructing others in the rules of good international behavior, is it not? As soon as the interests of the "common good" and other human values run counter to those very moralists' ambitions, they act heedless of anyone or anything.

U.S., Japan Obstruct Asia-Pacific Detente

PM2604121190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Apr 90 First Edition p 3

[Third and final part of "Stability and Confrontation" series by Lieutenant General A. Politsyn]

[Text] **III. The Asia-Pacific Region**

The vast expanse of the Asia-Pacific region houses very large, medium, and small countries inhabited by approximately half the earth's population. It is not only the interests of states with different social systems that clash here. The last few decades have been marked by outbreaks of interimperialist clashes and the formation of new economic and political centers of rivalry.

Concerned about the development of the situation in the region, the Soviet Union has put forward a number of initiatives. They are designed to reduce the level of military confrontation and create a system of lasting security for all the peoples inhabiting the Asia-Pacific region. The beginning of this process is, unfortunately, being unjustifiably protracted owing to reluctance on the part of some countries, primarily the United States, to embark on dialogue on security problems in the region.

U.S. ruling circles' interest in the Asia-Pacific region is based in many respects on the fact that the Pacific basin constitutes a suitable bridgehead for inflicting a strike on highly important economic and defense facilities in the USSR and other countries. Although this region is not as saturated in military terms as the European region, there are nevertheless vast possibilities for its militarization. The scientific-technical and industrial potential of such U.S. allies as Japan, South Korea, and Australia reveals extensive prospects for an increase in the pace of the arms race. Mindful of the increasing protests in a number of countries against U.S. domination and in order to further reinforce its positions, the United States has put forward the idea of a "new regional consensus on defense questions." The essence of the "consensus" boils down to the preservation of the foundation of the U.S. military presence on its allies' territory and a substantial increase in the latter's contribution to "joint security." Thus the Pentagon has announced a possible partial reduction over three years of 10 percent (12,000-13,000 men) in the numerical strength of U.S. troops in Japan, South Korea, and the Philippines, with a simultaneous increase in those countries' spending on national defense and the maintenance of U.S. military bases.

U.S. military cooperation with Thailand and Australia is developing and growing stronger. As for the ASEAN countries, the United States is endeavoring to influence their policy by supplying them with considerable quantities of arms and urging them on toward military-political integration.

Regarding the Asia-Pacific region as the "second main strategic zone after Europe" and as "one possible theater of global confrontation with the USSR," the United States has deployed within the region its second-biggest (after the European) armed forces grouping—in terms of combat potential—numbering more than 530,000 men. Its arsenal contains tanks, various artillery systems (including more than 300 nuclear artillery systems), and more than 1,200 combat aircraft, of which more than 600 are nuclear-capable. The 200 warships include seven multirole aircraft carriers, nuclear-powered submarines, and more than 30 ships equipped with long-range cruise missile launchers. A considerable proportion of the strategic offensive forces, including eight state-of-the-art "Ohio" class submarines with 192 ballistic missiles, are concentrated in the Pacific zone.

Forces comprising approximately 140,000 men, 500 aircraft, of which almost 300 are nuclear-capable, and 34 warships are to be found in the western Pacific, that is in direct proximity to USSR borders. More than 280 U.S. military facilities, including more than 80 major air and naval bases, a large proportion of which are to be found on Japanese and South Korean territory, are located in the Far East and Southeast Asia zone. An operational guidance, communications, and reconnaissance system has been deployed and is still being upgraded.

One of the main factors impeding the detente process is the strengthening of the military-political alliance

between the United States, Japan, and South Korea and the systematic buildup of their military potentials. Japan's military policy, for instance, is based on the concept of "comprehensive guarantees of national security." It envisages the country's transformation at the beginning of the 21st century into a "fully-fledged great power," with its own sphere of influence in the Asia-Pacific region based on a combination of increased military and other systems. In the propaganda context this is attributable to the fact that Japan's political and, especially, military influence on neighboring states is not commensurate with its colossal economic might.

The visible tendency for Japan's role within the framework of the Japanese-U.S. "Treaty on Mutual Cooperation and Security" to increase is due to Tokyo's desire to turn the country into a world military power. In this respect people there are suspicious about the possibility of reciprocal reductions in USSR and U.S. armed forces and arms in the region. On the one hand, this would reduce the effectiveness of using the fabricated story about the "Soviet military threat," which has been used as a cover for the increased rate of Japanese military building. On the other hand, were such an accord to be secured a possible reduction in the numerical strength of U.S. ground force groupings and air forces in the western Pacific would entail, at Washington's demand, the broadening of Japan's military commitments within the framework of its military-political alliance with the United States. And this would provoke an adverse reaction within the PRC and other countries in the region where people have not forgotten Japanese militarists' crimes during World War II.

In its relations with the USSR Tokyo is still making totally groundless claims to the so-called "northern territories"—the southern edge of the Kuril islands. These islands are of great military significance. The Western press notes that if Japan had possession of them in wartime it could blockade our Pacific Fleet in the Sea of Okhotsk and the Sea of Japan and thus prevent it from moving out into the Pacific.

One cannot fail to draw attention to the following circumstance. A quite vigorous propaganda campaign has been mounted to "justify" U.S.-Japanese military cooperation and Tokyo's military policy. Representatives of Japanese official circles, including Defense Agency personnel and political specialists, are trying to present things as if the Soviet Union's avowed concrete steps to cut back armed forces and arms in the eastern part of the country will not make fundamental changes to Soviet military potential in the region and will not reduce the level of "threat" for Japan. The mass media are circulating various pieces of conjecture and manipulating figures from unknown sources, for instance, about an alleged drastic increase in the Soviet Pacific Fleet's naval forces.

This is happening despite the fact that our Pacific Fleet, which is designed above all to defend the shores of the Soviet Far East, was cut by 57 ships between 1984 and 1989. And despite the fact that the USSR has hitherto failed to receive a positive response to the well-known initiatives which it put forward in Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk and which are designed to improve the military-political situation in the Asia-Pacific region. It is worthy of note that, without waiting for an answer, the USSR took a number of practical steps to reduce its military and naval activity in the region. For instance, it reduced its presence in the port of Cam Ranh following coordination with the Vietnamese by withdrawing combat aircraft from there.

The fabricated claims about Soviet might also aim to weaken the effect on the Japanese public of the Soviet Union's concrete steps to restructure its military policy in the region on principles of reasonable defense sufficiency.

The situation on the Korean Peninsula also puts us on our guard. A major troop contingent, along with bases and other U.S. military facilities, is still deployed on the territory of America's second ally—South Korea. South Korean Armed Forces themselves number approximately 780,000 men, more than 2,500 tanks and armored combat vehicles, almost 460 warplanes, and more than 60 warships. U.S. and South Korean troops regularly conduct major military exercises and maneuvers on the country's territory, which create instability in the region.

The normalization of USSR-PRC relations, which occurred during the May 1989 summit meeting, has had a positive effect on the military-political situation in the Asia-Pacific region too of late. An accord was secured to the effect that Soviet-Chinese relations must be based on principles of mutual respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity, noninterference in one another's internal affairs, equality, and mutual advantage. The normalization of these relations created favorable conditions for progress toward reciprocal reductions in armed forces and confidence-building in areas adjoining the land border between the USSR and the PRC. People in both Moscow and Beijing note that the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations does not only benefit the two great powers. It is also favorable for an improvement in the situation in the Asia-Pacific region and the world as a whole.

The world is experiencing a crucial phase in its development. Positive political processes helping to strengthen international security are gaining momentum, but military confrontation has still not been overcome. President M.S. Gorbachev stressed that the processes of building peace-loving communities in Europe and Asia must ultimately result in a single system of security throughout Eurasia. But this must be achieved by joint efforts on the part of all countries—large and small, aligned and nonaligned.

United States & Canada

U.S. 'Prepared To Normalize' Trade Relations

LD2704055990 Moscow TASS in English 0552 GMT 27 Apr 90

[By TASS correspondent Aleksandr Korolev]

[Text] Washington April 27 TASS—The United States is prepared to normalise trade relations with the Soviet Union, deputy chief U.S. negotiator Julius Katz said.

Katz leads a U.S. delegation at the Paris talks on giving most favoured nation trade status to the Soviet Union.

Speaking in a telephone interview with American reporters in Washington, Katz said that the text of the new accord had been basically agreed upon.

Some secondary issues were still to be finalised, he said. But this will not prevent the signing of the agreement during the summit between President Gorbachev and President Bush in late May-early June this year, he said.

The new agreement may double or even triple trade turnover between the two superpowers, U.S. officials forecast.

Bessmertnykh, U.S. Businessman Discuss Trade

PM2604150590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Apr 90 Morning Edition p 4

[TASS report under the general heading: "Official Reports"]

[Text] On 24 April USSR First Deputy Foreign Minister A.A. Bessmertnykh received a prominent U.S. businessman—J. Giffen, president of the American Trade Consortium. The situation taking shape around Soviet-U.S. trade and economic relations was discussed in the talks.

Bush National Security Paper 'Contradictory'

PM2704083190 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 22 Apr 90 First Edition p 3

[Colonel M. Ponomarev article under the rubric "Military Observer's Standpoint": "Pentagon's 'Sacred Cows'"]

[Text] Recently a number of documents became the property of the U.S. public, in which the fundamental principles and tasks of U.S. military policy in the present critical stage of world development are expounded. First and foremost is President G. Bush's extensive report "U.S. National Security Strategy," and also the country's draft federal, including military, budget for Fiscal Year 1991. To this should be added the texts of numerous speeches by Defense Secretary R. Cheney, Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman General C. Powell, and Congressional leaders, and articles by political scientists and observers.

This material offers the reader an impression not only of the main directions of U.S. military policy and the way that the administration formulates them, but also of the nature of the stormy debates which have developed in this connection. Perhaps never before have these debates been so sharp or reflected such diametrically opposed views and approaches. With good reason it can be said that the Washington leadership is standing at a crossroads: While setting out its national security policy aims more or less clearly, it specifies the ways of achieving them in a highly contradictory manner.

This, of course, is no accident. First, there is no unequivocal assessment of the changes taking place in the world. And second, the influence of forces operating in Washington's political arena carries weight. These are forces which reflect the differing and at times directly opposing positions and aspirations of particular social circles.

The fact that virtually all those involved are forced to admit that the "Soviet threat" to the United States, even from its viewpoint, no longer exists, has counted for more than anything in the debate which has developed on the problems of U.S. security and military policy strategy. "The international landscape," George Bush says, "has been marked by changes which truly take one's breath away."

CIA Director W. Webster's public statement that "the Soviet military threat in Europe and throughout the whole world is diminishing" and is unlikely to arise again in the foreseeable future made a particular impression on the public. Although the Pentagon leadership did try to deny the statement, the majority of Americans are nevertheless convinced that the Soviet Union's foreign policy and its military might are not directed against the United States.

It would, of course, be naive to think that the "hardliners" across the ocean have become extinct. Even today in the Pentagon they think that, even if agreement is reached with the USSR on strategic offensive weapons, modernization of U.S. strategic forces is still necessary. Generally military factors are in their own way the Pentagon's "sacred cows." The credo of its chief goes like this: "Irrespective of what the future promises us, we must retain offensive and defensive strategic forces, alliances, forward-based forces, superiority at sea, flexible response forces, and a powerful industrial base in our country." The real aim of U.S. activity in the world must not, he said, be lost in connection with the weakening of the Soviet threat. The most that can be agreed to is to decrease the buildup of armed forces while maintaining U.S. military commitments on a worldwide scale.

Such a standpoint is subjected to sharp criticism in Congress as well as in the press. L. Aspin, chairman of the House of Representatives Armed Services Committee, says sarcastically that the rates of the changes taking place are outstripping the administration's arms control proposals. There are new realities in the world, but there is no new thinking in the United States capable of matching them.

Yes, it is really so. The United States is patently behindhand in reinterpreting aims and approaches which originated in different conditions. The presidential report on security strategy underlines the need to retain the capability to demonstrate U.S. power, and it indicates that the United States must inevitably remain the leader in the "global union of democracies."

As regards relations with the Soviet Union, the report indicates that they retain their strategic priority. Why? Because the USSR remains the only other military superpower. And it is not far from this to the conclusion that the United States must continue to maintain the present level of defenses which, they say, strengthen deterrence. True, the document does contain other ideas. This position cannot fail to attract attention: Even if U.S.-Soviet relations retain the character of rivalry, it can be made less concentrated in the military sphere and significantly safer. This formula can only be welcomed. But it gets lost in other propositions which contradict it. Because what matters, obviously, is the conclusion that U.S. nuclear strategy, which relies on retaining a reliable deterrent potential, will continue to be based on the deployment of high-accuracy weapons systems utilizing mobile and covert basing methods (for example, on submarines), in order to lessen the likelihood of their destruction as a result of a strike by the other side.

A certain duplicity in the formulation of the aims and directions of U.S. military policy was also reflected in the U.S. draft military budget for Fiscal Year 1991. Under the item "National Defense" the administration has asked for $306.9 billions' worth of appropriations for the Defense Department and for the Energy Department's military programs, that is, one-fourth of the total federal budget. In nominal terms this is even higher than in the current year, although taking inflation into account some reduction of real military expenditure is expected. But no sooner had the administration managed to submit these requests than it immediately proposed cutting them by $2-3 billion. And now there is already talk of cutting the Pentagon's spending by more than $10 billion.

The White House and the Pentagon have made these concessions under pressure from Congress. They will lead to some reduction in the armed forces' numerical strength, the scrapping of two dozen major weapons development programs, withdrawal to the reserve of some warships—two battleships, a guided missile cruiser, and five nuclear and three diesel submarines. But it is not planned to implement these cuts immediately, but over several years right up to 1995. Here special stress is laid on maintaining U.S. technological superiority and the ubiquitous use of "competition strategies" in order to force the Soviet Union to continue participating in the ruinous arms race and the chase for military superiority.

If a nuclear deterrent and possession of large-scale strategic forces remain the core of U.S. strategy in relation to the Soviet Union, then in relation to many other regions of the world the strategy is intended as before to be guided by the concept of "low-intensity conflicts." Its centerpiece is the securing of U.S. access to strategic raw materials and energy resources, their transportation across other countries' territory, and the retention of military bases on foreign territories. That these are not merely theoretical premises but actually a concrete guide to action is demonstrated graphically enough by the Pentagon's aggressive action against Panama.

Any effort to characterize U.S. military policy as a whole has to acknowledge that it is an equation with many variables. And not only because it is contradictory in its very essence. A great deal depends on the state of and future development of Soviet-U.S. relations and on the way Washington perceives and evaluates particular Moscow actions. The adherence to principles, consistency, and predictability of Soviet policy serve as a most important stabilizing factor in the modern world.

In conclusion I would like to cite the opinion of the Indian NATIONAL HERALD newspaper: "The policy of new political thinking which has started to be implemented in the world arena on the initiative of M.S. Gorbachev has won approval in the United States. However, President G. Bush's recent report on national security strategy creates the impression that the U.S. Administration continues to regard the world as an arena of conflicts between two superpowers." It cannot be denied that it is a fair assessment of U.S. military policy.

Article Profiles White House 'Apparatchiks'

90UF0088A Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No 16, 18 Apr 90 p 14

[Article by Edgar Cheporov: "Apparatchiks"]

[Text] U.S. President George Bush's work day begins at 8 am. He spends a quarter hour looking over the reports from intelligence services that have accumulated during the night. Immediately after that there is a meeting with his national security adviser Brent Scowcroft. The next meeting, with White House Chief of Staff John Sununu, can take place at any time of day and more than once. Sununu himself begins his first daily conference at 7:15 am. He speaks with the administrative budget director Richard Darman. They have no set agenda. They discuss the issues that will come up for the President during the day. About 1,700 workers of the President's executive staff, which includes both Sununu's and Darman's services, work to solve these problems effectively.

It took the Americans many decades to create the institution of presidential advisers. George Washington had only one secretary, he hired his own nephew for this position, and paid him a modest $300 a year out of his own pocket. As the demands on the post of president grew and government activity became more complicated, the need for a "team" of highly qualified professionals working directly with the president and for the president became more and more apparent.

The presidential executive staff was established by F. Roosevelt in 1939. Let us note that it was founded by a president who spent his first years in office fighting against a severe economic crisis. In works of American political scientists one frequently sees the idea that it is precisely at a time of crisis that the public demands with special insistence that the president deal with all the problems that are bothering them—from national security to education and medicine. The role of presidential aids increases considerably during times like this.

Today the structure of the presidential executive administration includes the White House staff, the National Security Council, the Office of Management and Budget, Council of Economic Advisers, the Policy Development Agency, the Office of Science and Technology Policy, the Council on Environmental Quality, the U.S. Trade Representative, the administrative support department, and a number of other subdivisions.

It is not by accident that this list begins with the White House staff. Many if not all the threads of government administration come together here. When I opened a government reference guide to the page where it talks about the White House staff, I learned that there are 84 bureaucrats in this service. This, naturally, does not include technical workers. For comparison, the economic council consists of only three people. As distinct from other services, the White House staff includes heads of other agencies—the National Security Council and the Policy Development Agency.

The structure of the White House staff was conceived in such a way that it could offer solutions for the entire range of problems of American society. The eminent scholar Thomas Kronin lists the following working in the White House:

"...specialists in budget and management, national security, economics, the Congress, science and technology, drug abuse prevention, interstate relations, environmental protection, national goals, telecommunications, consumer affairs, military affairs, civil rights, disarmament, education, international trade and tariffs, aid to the elderly, public health, food, physical culture, voluntary societies, intellectuals, blacks, youth, women, Wall Street, states, mayors, ethnic groups, regulatory institutions..."

White House staff workers along with other presidential services prepare recommendations for the head of state, supply him with information, and monitor the implementation of the decisions of the highest leadership. Their task also includes maintaining ties with Congress—they familiarize the legislators with the president's position and do everything possible to increase his influence on Capitol Hill. The structure of the White House staff is flexible and mobile. Each president forms it according to his own ideas and style. He appoints the staff members himself, without the participation of the Congress. Their term is indefinite—they can be fired "at any moment and for any reason." The president has the right to reorganize his staff as he wishes and revise the lists of his advisers' duties.

"What distinguishes the style of interaction between presidential advisers and the current occupant of the White House?" I asked Alex Glen, a White House staff worker.

"In principle," she answered, "the style has probably not changed much. It has been developed over the years and has proved its effectiveness. But many think that George Bush is more accessible to the staff than his predecessors were. And this means that they are aware of his most recent assessments, ideas, and opinions. This is extremely important for successful work."

"How many personal automobiles do the White House staff workers and presidential advisers have?"

"Three of them," answered Alex. "For Scowcroft, Sununu, and Darman. Vehicles are also assigned to members of the cabinet—there are 12 of them."

The White House chief of staff occupies a special place in the hierarchy of bureaucrats close to the president. He is responsible for making sure that the mechanism of executive power works without interruption and decides who will be allowed to see the president and who to put off or refuse.

"Since power in Washington is measured by the degree of proximity to the president," said G. Ford, "everyone would like more of my attention than I can give him. I wanted to keep the 'doors open' but that was very difficult. My work day became longer and longer and encroachments on my time threatened my working effectively. Someone had to take responsibility for the list of visitors, the coordination of the flow of paperwork, and monitoring the execution of my decisions."

All these are the duties of the chief of staff. His power extends beyond just those close to the leader. He is responsible for the preparation of the majority of materials for the presidents and for making sure that his directives reach those for whom they are intended. Technical work? No, the White House chief of staff is a political figure; presidents need their assessments and take them into account. But the White House chief of staff traditionally takes the dissatisfaction and the blows intended for the president.

"Every president," said H. Haldeman, chief of staff in Nixon's time, "needs his own son-of-a-bitch. We and not the president do the firing and give the reprimands..."

John Sununu is a remarkable phenomenon in American political life. In his post he has proved himself to be a brilliant organizer. He is an ambitious person with conservative views, and now "in the interests of effectiveness" he is emphatically in agreement with the pragmatic President. Sununu is 51 years old, he is half Lebanese and half Salvadoran, was born in Cuba and grew up in New York. Before occupying his present post

Sununu earned the scholarly degree of doctor of technical sciences, was a businessman, taught in universities, became the governor of the state of New Hampshire, and spent three terms in this office. The primary presidential elections in this state have for a long time largely predetermined the course of the entire election campaign. With his speeches Sununu made a decisive contribution to the New Hampshire victory of G. Bush, which also determined the governor's path to the White House.

One must say that this situation is typical of the majority of appointees under all presidents. For the key positions in executive management and department posts, writes the CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY, they select "close friends and acquaintances of the President." Under H. Truman there was an "invasion from Missouri," J. Kennedy called in the "Irish Mafia" and Harvard intellectuals, J. Carter brought with him his comrades from Georgia, and R. Reagan—from California. Nepotism?

G. Bush selected his cadres according to long justified formulas. His national security adviser was Brent Scowcroft, an acquaintance of G. Bush's since the time when Scowcroft performed the same function in the Ford administration and the current President headed the CIA in the same administration. This was also the time when Bush was in contact with another Ford aid, Roger Porter. He is now in charge of the domestic and economic policy agency. G. Bush worked with Richard Darman, director of the Office of Budget and Management, in the Reagan administration. Michael Boskin, chairman of the President's council of economic advisers, participated in G. Bush's election campaign. He is known in the United States as an economist and professor at Stanford University.

American experts think that historically two types of relationships have developed between the U.S. president and his advisers. The first is "pyramidal," a system built on a hierarchical ladder with the president at the top. Immediately under him is the chief of staff with his deputies, who also have access to the Oval Office. After them come lower-ranking assistants, and their numbers increase as the importance of their posts diminishes. This structure is to provide for movement of presidential directives downward, and information upward. It presupposes specialization at the lowest levels and control at the highest. The people at the top of the system should provide the president with optimally selected information, filtering out the random, unnecessary, and trivial. "A president who does not know how to achieve decentralization," thought D. Eisenhower, "will be buried in details and will not have time for important matters." The author of this statement and also President R. Reagan preferred brief presentation of events and problems compressed to one page.

While it has its merits, they write in the United States, the "pyramidal" system can deprive the country's leader of a "sense of reality."

The other method of organizing the president's work with his advisers has been given the name "circular." It is as though the president were in the middle of a circle and all around him are advisers who have information and have approximately the same rights of access to him. This approach makes it possible for the president to obtain information from a maximum number of sources. And in theory there is less probability that anybody's voice—even if it expresses an opinion contrary to that of the majority—will not reach the ears of the president. It is thought that the more active presidents are inclined toward the "circular" structure. But it, too, has its opponents. The main objection is that the president can be "buried under a pile of various opinions." Moreover, this encourages an "unhealthy competitiveness among the advisers to win the favor of the president."

One of the ways of avoiding this tendency is for the advisers to act collegially and develop "group thinking." I have repeatedly heard that the "team" of G. Bush has adopted precisely this method. In order to help the president interpret a particular problem and approach a solution the advisers arrange debates with the participants defending the most diverse viewpoints. G. Bush prefers fighting it out face to face. He asks questions, takes notes, and is rarely interested in the opinions of workers of lower ranks.

As a result of discussions and other preparatory work, plans are generated and proposed to the President. The magazine TIME gives what it thinks is a textbook example of "group thinking." During his election campaign G. Bush promised to reduce the threat of acid rain and toxic wastes. The fulfillment of this promise began when presidential aid Roger Porter appointed a commission consisting of the secretary of energy, the head of the Environmental Protection Agency, representatives of the Office of Budget and Management, and one of the presidential advisers. The commission met 16 times with legislators, businessmen, and social organizations. As a result they developed a package of proposals intended to satisfy the demands of all interested groups and submitted it to the cabinet members whose departments were involved in the implementation of the plan. A number of corrections appeared. They were taken into account. They were already supposed to report on the plan to G. Bush, but there were new suggestions from two members of the commission to change half of the fleet of vehicles in the 20 largest U.S. cities over to alternative fuel before the year 2000. The commission called this proposal "idealistic." Then Richard Darman and Michael Boskon worked on the plan for several weeks. And only after that was it submitted to the President. The next stages involved the President's remarks, consultation with legislators, preparation of the law...

Is the president's executive department with its staff of influential bureaucrat-strategists a political phenomenon? Undoubtedly, since these strategists form the policy of the party and the president who brought them into the corridors of power. But typically many of the

staff members are inclined to call themselves managers of state administration, thus not emphasizing their political sympathies and concepts. Why? Probably because to advertise these sympathies would mean to awaken suspicions about their subjectivity and their adherence to the political line currently being conducted by the ruling party. The problem is not new. Even under President F. Roosevelt there was a question of creating a neutral group of presidential advisers. Their duties would have included only providing the president with objective information and proposals dictated not by party and group interests but by the needs of the entire society. This idea never was developed.

"The president," I read in the CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY, "is greatly at risk of becoming a captive of the apparatus, depending only on the apparatus for obtaining information and choosing variants..." The risk is quite real. The events surrounding "Irangate" arms and funds transaction showed the role the apparatus can play in implementing a policy which violates the laws of the country and does not correspond to long-term interests. This is the role played under R. Reagan by the National Security Council—a key subdivision of the presidential executive apparatus.

My next article will discuss the National Security Council.

Canada Rules Out Sanctions Against Moscow

LD2604104590 Moscow TASS in English 1008 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Ottawa April 26 TASS—Ottawa is not considering trade sanctions against the USSR, following the Soviet Government's measures against Lithuania, and Canadian oil supplies to Lithuania are improbable, Canadian Foreign Minister Joe Clark said.

The situation in Lithuania is being monitored by NATO and the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development, which comprises 24 countries, and they are maintaining close contacts, Clark told journalists. "We favour constructive negotiations between the Lithuanian and Soviet authorities," the minister said.

Sanctions are not under discussion, he stressed. "We are not exchanging opinions on this issue. All believe that some time will be required as well as goodwill from Soviet and Lithuanian leaders to start constructive negotiations. We hope this will take place," he stressed.

China

PRAVDA Reports Li Peng's Visit to Moscow

More on Moscow Friendship Meeting

PM2604124190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Apr 90 Second Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Strengthening the Ties of Friendship"]

[Text] On 24 April pupils from the 14th Moscow boarding school, holding bunches of red roses, said the greeting "Welcome, Premier Li Peng!" in Chinese as they met the distinguished Chinese guest and his wife on the threshold of the House of Friendship. Meanwhile, in the Great Hall, which was decorated with the state flags of both countries and and with welcome banners, representatives of the Soviet-Chinese Friendship Society, which has branches in most Soviet republics and many krays and oblasts in our country, awaited the guests. Over 600 major industrial enterprises, kolkhozes, sovkhozes, educational institutions, and other establishments in the country make up its primary organizations. Soviet specialists who had worked at various times in the PRC or who are currently working there were also present.

The Soviet public notes with satisfaction that the past decade has shown the world a new face of China and that, thanks to cardinal reforms, its progress along its chosen path had accelerated perceptibly. And, as was noted in the speech by V. Tereshkova, chairman of the Union of Soviet Societies for Friendship and Cultural Relations With Foreign Countries Presidium, and in other greetings, the Soviet people are following Chinese working people's successes with great interest and sympathy. We hope that the PRC leadership and people will successfully resolve the problems that have arisen on their path, will ensure confident progress for their country, and will turn China into a developed modern socialist state, the meeting's participants stressed.

Conveying ardent greetings to the meeting and to all Soviet people from the citizens of China, Li Peng stressed that his people nurture good feelings of friendship toward the Soviet people. The USSR and China have much in common, he continued: Our countries are building socialism and our people wish to live in peace. And now the most important thing for us, the premier of the PRC State Council said, is to foster in Soviet and Chinese young people the friendly feelings that our older generation have kept up through the years.

Premier Li's News Conference

PM2604122190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Apr 90 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Visit Was Successful"]

[Text] That was the opinion of Li Peng, member of the CPC Central Committee Politburo Standing Committee and premier of the PRC State Council, on concluding his visit to Moscow. He was speaking at a 25 April press conference for Soviet and foreign journalists.

Closing the door on the past and opening the door to the future—those were the tasks set during M.S. Gorbachev's historic visit to China last May. My visit to the Soviet Union too, the speaker stressed, continued the process of opening the door to the future in Soviet-Chinese relations.

Li Peng was asked many questions about his view of the processes taking place in the Soviet Union and East Europe.

Answering them, the PRC State Council premier stated that each state has its own realities, traditions, and culture. In his opinion, there is no single model for building socialism. During my meetings and talks in Moscow, he said, it became clear to me that the perestroyka process in the USSR has a socialist thrust. As for the countries of East Europe, major changes have indeed taken place there. However, ultimately the processes taking place in them require further study. Nonetheless, in any event, the speaker stressed, the PRC will maintain normal interstate relations with them based on the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

The following question was asked: Did he agree with M.S. Gorbachev's statement during their meeting yesterday that, in terms of the scale and depth of the changes currently taking place in the USSR the change is equal to to the October Revolution? Indeed, Li Peng replied, they are comparable in terms of their deep impact on society. This is a continuation of October. I think that my understanding of this corresponds to the sense of the Soviet leader's statement.

One of the journalists inquired: How do you view the introduction of the multiparty system in the USSR? This is a matter for the Soviet Union itself and the Soviet people, the premier said. We in China also have democratic parties apart from the CPC. This is a system of multiparty cooperation headed by the CPC.

Answering a question on whether there are any problems in maintaining political stability in China, Li Peng stressed that the political situation that existed in China a year ago was not comparable with what we have now. It is stable. And the fact that I am here in the Soviet Union rather than in China convincingly proves this. Most of the Chinese people believe that such a large country as ours needs stability.

Lukyanov-Li Peng Talks Reported

PM2604145390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Apr 90 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Conversation at the USSR Supreme Soviet"]

[Text] On 25 April A.I. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, had a meeting with Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council.

During their exchange of opinions on a broad range of questions they expressed mutual satisfaction at the ongoing, dynamic nature of bilateral relations. It was noted that Li Peng's talks with the Soviet leadership and his meeting with M.S. Gorbachev, along with the accords secured as a result of the visit, will help further broaden cooperation and strengthen good-neighborliness between the Soviet Union and China for the sake of the peoples of the two countries and world peace.

A.I. Lukyanov familiarized the head of the Chinese Government with the USSR Supreme Soviet's activity and the course of the discussion of questions on the agenda of its present session. In turn Li Peng described the implementation of the reform of the Chinese political system and the system of political consultations operating in the country under Communist Party leadership.

Both sides voiced a positive opinion of the state of parliamentary ties between the two countries and discussed the prospects for developing these ties.

On the Soviet side O.A. Troyanovskiy, USSR ambassador to the PRC, and and on the Chinese side Tumur Dawamat, representative of the People's Government of the Xinjiang-Uygur Autonomous Region and other officials accompanying Li Peng, along with Yu Hongliang, PRC ambassador to the USSR, took part in the conversation, which took place in a warm and friendly atmosphere.

Shevardnadze-Qian Talks Noted

PM2604141190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Apr 90 Second Edition p 4

[TASS report: "Ministers Meet"]

[Text] On 25 April E.A. Shevardnadze, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR foreign minister, met with Qian Qichen, member of the CPC Central Committee and PRC foreign minister, who is in the USSR in connection with the official visit to our country by Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council.

There was a detailed [razvernutyy] dialogue on a number of questions of USSR-PRC relations and the current situation in the world. Both sides stressed their readiness to further deepen cooperation and mutual understanding in the spirit of the 18 May 1989 joint Soviet-Chinese communique.

E.A. Shevardnadze and Qian Qichen noted the importance of further expanding contacts between the two countries' foreign policy departments, which will be served by the signing of a protocol on consultations between the Soviet and PRC Foreign Ministries. The ministers agreed that the sides will regularly exchange views on the main international problems and questions of bilateral relations, and make reciprocal information available on their positions and approaches to international events. The expediency of holding meetings between foreign ministers not less than once a year was reaffirmed.

Specific steps to implement the agreement signed in Moscow on the guiding principles for mutual armed forces cuts and confidence-building in the military sphere in the Sino-Soviet border region were discussed. It was agreed to start specific talks in the very near future to work out the specific parameters, components, and timetables for troop cuts.

During the discussion of various aspects of a border settlement both sides noted that at corresponding talks the line of the Soviet-Chinese border has been agreed in sectors representing approximately 90 percent of the total border. Useful ideas were expressed about the procedure for further work on those sectors which have not yet been agreed. Mutual resolve was expressed to continue border talks and to seek mutually acceptable solutions.

International problems were discussed with the accent on the need to ensure stability and security in the context of the considerable changes taking place in the world. The formation of a system of relations based on new political thinking and the ideas of creating an international political and economic order was noted.

The Soviet foreign minister highlighted the idea that relations with all countries should be valued. It has taken considerable effort to normalize Soviet-Chinese relations. More than 25 years were lost in their development, and this has cost our two countries' peoples and the peoples of other socialist countries dear. The negative impact of this development was felt not only in Asia but worldwide. Something similar also occurred in the USSR's relations with Albania. Their rupture could have been avoided. We do not intend, E.A. Shevardnadze said, to avoid our share of responsibility for what happened. Moscow has paid attention to recent statements by Albanian leadership representatives on their readiness to restore diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union. We can only welcome these statements and, for our part, are prepared to restore and develop friendly relations with Albania on the basis of full equality, respect for sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, and mutual advantage.

E.A. Shevardnadze briefed Qian Qichen on the preparations for the forthcoming Soviet-U.S. summit. Considerable attention was devoted to the processes taking place in Europe. The sides exchanged opinions on the major changes in the East European countries and analyzed the complex range of international issues arising in connection with the future unification of Germany.

During the talks a wide range of problems concerning the situation in the Asia-Pacific region was touched upon. Both sides advocated the adoption of measures to reduce the level of military confrontation in the region and to strengthen and develop diverse forms of cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region.

A common understanding was reached that without a Korean settlement it will be impossible to achieve genuine security and stability in Northeast Asia. Dialogue between North and South Korea is of decisive importance for easing tension on the Korean peninsula.

The participants in the talks devoted major attention to the subject of the situation in Afghanistan, which is a neighbor of both the Soviet Union and China. Specifically, ways to bring about peace and stability in that country were discussed.

The ministers noted the improvements in the talks process on Cambodia, noted the expansion of the sphere of mutual understanding on a number of aspects of the settlement, and advocated the galvanization of efforts in this direction. The outlines of UN participation in a political solution to the problem are increasingly clear. Recent statements by Hun Sen, head of the Cambodian Government, and Prince N. Sihanouk display a tendency toward a gradual rapprochement. E.A. Shevardnadze welcomed the forthcoming contacts between Chinese and Vietnamese representatives and expressed confidence that the speediest normalization of Sino-Vietnamese relations would be an important factor in improving the situation in Southeast Asia.

The ministers briefed each other on their contacts with the participants in the Arab-Israeli conflict. The opinion was expressed that the balance of interests of the sides directly involved in the conflict can only be ensured through political talks.

The meeting between the two ministers was held in a friendly and businesslike atmosphere.

Communique on Li Peng Trip Issued

PM2704094990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Apr 90 Second Edition p 6

[Unattributed report: "PRC State Council Premier Li Peng's Visit to USSR Ends"]

[Text] Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, and his wife paid an official visit to the Soviet Union 23 through 26 April at the invitation of the Soviet Government. He was accompanied by PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen and other Chinese officials.

During the visit the distinguished Chinese guest had a meeting and talks with USSR President M.S. Gorbachev.

The premier of the PRC State Council visited the USSR Supreme Soviet and met with its chairman, A.I. Lukyanov.

N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and PRC State Council Premier Li Peng had talks in which the following took part:

On the Soviet side—Soviet Foreign Minister E.A. Shevardnadze; S.A. Sitaryan, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers; K.F. Katushev, USSR minister of foreign economic relations; O.N. Shishkin, USSR minister of general machine building; K.V. Malakhov, deputy chairman of the USSR Gosplan [State Planning Committee]; I.A. Rogachev, USSR deputy foreign minister; A.N. Kleymenov, first deputy chief of the USSR Armed Forces General Staff; O.A. Troyanovskiy, Soviet ambassador to the PRC, and other officials;

And on the Chinese side—PRC Foreign Minister Qian Qichen; Tomur Dawamat, chairman of the People's Government of the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region; Gan Ziyu, vice minister of the PRC State Planning Commission; Yuan Mu, chief of the PRC State Council's Political Research Department; Tian Zengpei, PRC vice foreign minister; Xu Xin, deputy chief of the Chinese People's Liberation Army General Staff; Li Lanqing, PRC vice minister of foreign economic relations and foreign trade; Yu Hongliang, PRC ambassador to the USSR, and other officials.

A meeting between the two countries' foreign ministers was also held within the framework of the visit.

There was an in-depth exchange of opinions between the Soviet and PRC leaders on questions of Soviet-Chinese bilateral relations. Satisfaction was expressed with the dynamic development of both sides' ties and cooperation in the political, economic, trade, scientific, technical, and other spheres following the normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations.

The sides advocate the consistent observance of the provisions of the 18 May 1989 Soviet-Chinese joint communique and the further strengthening of relations of friendship and good-neighborliness between the USSR and the PRC on the basis of the generally accepted principles of international contact [obshcheniye]: mutual respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity, nonaggression, noninterference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual advantage, and peaceful coexistence. This is in line with the fundamental interests of both countries' peoples and promotes peace and development in Asia and worldwide.

The sides confirmed that, following the principles set out in the Soviet-Chinese joint communique, they will continue talks aimed at bringing about a fair and rational resolution of border issues between the USSR and China. Satisfaction was expressed with the progress of the talks on reciprocal armed forces cuts and confidence-building in the military sphere in the Soviet-Chinese border region.

The sides agreed that the leaders of the two countries' military departments will hold friendly exchanges with a view to strengthening mutual understanding.

The following Soviet-Chinese documents were signed on the basis of the results of the talks: a long-term program for the development of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation between the USSR and the PRC; an agreement between the Soviet and PRC Governments on cooperation in the sphere of research into and the use of space for peaceful purposes; an agreement between the Soviet and PRC Governments on the guiding principles for reciprocal armed forces cuts and confidence-building in the military sphere in the Soviet-Chinese border area; a protocol on consultations between the Soviet and PRC Foreign Ministries; an agreement between the Soviet and PRC Governments on state credit for shipments of consumer goods from the PRC to the USSR; and a memorandum between the Soviet and PRC Governments on cooperation in building a nuclear power station in the PRC and in granting Soviet state credit to China.

The opinion was expressed that the signing of these Soviet-Chinese documents expands the legal treaty basis underlying Soviet-PRC relations and promotes the further development of cooperation between the two countries. There are good prospects for Soviet-PRC cooperation in various specific areas.

The Soviet and PRC leaders briefed each other on the position in their countries and noted that the USSR and China are currently implementing reforms and searching for ways of socialist development based on their states' specific conditions. The sides stressed their adherence to strict observance of the principles of noninterference in each other's internal affairs and their respect for the right of each country's people to make their own choices.

The Chinese side again stated that Taiwan is an inalienable part of PRC territory. China resolutely opposes any attempts to create a situation of "two Chinas," "one China and one Taiwan," or an "independent Taiwan." The Soviet side reaffirmed its invariable and consistent support for this PRC Government position.

The two countries' leaders exchanged opinions on key international problems of mutual interest. Noting the major changes taking place in the world, the sides reaffirmed their interest in safeguarding peace and development, in settling disputes between states and regional conflicts by peaceful, political means, in expanding cooperation between peoples with a view to solving global economic, social, and ecological problems, and in eradicating poverty, underdevelopment, hunger, and disease from the planet.

Attaching great importance to developing the disarmament process, the sides made a positive assessment of the steps taken by various countries to cut arms and ease military confrontation. The Chinese side welcomed the progress achieved at the Soviet-U.S. arms reduction talks. It also expressed the hope that a new world political and economic order will be established on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence.

The two countries' leaders devoted due attention to the current processes taking place in Europe. They noted the growing importance of the Asia-Pacific region and the importance of safeguarding peace and security there and of developing cooperation with the participation of all states in the region. The USSR and the PRC advocated enhancing the prestige of the United Nations.

The sides stated that they will make efforts to promote a just, rational, and comprehensive political settlement of the Cambodia problem and expressed approval and support of the fact that the United Nations has played an active part in this question. They support dialogue between northern and southern Korea and intend to

continue promoting detente and stability on the Korean Peninsula and creating conditions for the country's peaceful unification.

The talks between the Soviet and Chinese leaders were held in a friendly, frank, and businesslike atmosphere. The sides unanimously believe that the exchange of opinions on the questions of Soviet-Chinese relations and topical international problems of mutual interest was important and useful. They expressed satisfaction with the results of the visit.

During his stay in Moscow the head of the PRC Government laid a wreath at the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum and at the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier near the Kremlin Wall. He met with veterans of Soviet-Chinese friendship and Soviet specialists who had worked in China, and expressed his gratitude to them. Premier Li Peng and the officials accompanying him also traveled to Leningrad.

The PRC State Council premier expressed gratitude to the Soviet leadership and the Soviet people for the warm welcome and cordial hospitality accorded him and the officials accompanying him.

On behalf of the Chinese Government, Premier Li Peng invited N.I. Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, to visit the PRC. The invitation was accepted with thanks.

Li Peng Arrives in Leningrad, Lays Wreath

LD2604152590 Moscow TASS in English 1503 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Leningrad April 26 TASS—Chinese Premier Li Peng and his wife arrived in Leningrad today upon the completion of negotiations in Moscow.

In an airport interview with TASS, Li described his visit as "very successful". "I'm convinced", he remarked, "that the warm meetings I had in the USSR and the documents that were signed during talks will contribute to strengthening inter-state relations and deepening friendly ties."

Li wished the Soviet people success in perestroyka.

From Pulkovo Airport, where the Chinese premier was welcomed by Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Leningrad City Council Vladimir Khodyrev, and other officials, the motorcade, escorted by motorcycle outriders, headed for the city.

On the way, Li laid flowers at the monument to World War Two defenders of Leningrad in Victory Square.

"Looking at this memorial, one involuntarily recalls the hard years when the Soviet people courageously opposed the enemy. We ought to apply more effort to prevent the recurrence of the tragedy of war", he said.

The premier met with workers of the Electrosila Amalgamation, whose products, including turbo- and hydrogenerators, are exported to China. The meeting was held in a business-like and friendly atmosphere.

Li Peng Ends USSR Visit, Leaves for Home

LD2604181390 Moscow TASS in English 1803 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Leningrad April 26 TASS—Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng left for home today. He was staying in the Soviet Union on an official visit at the invitation of the Soviet government.

PRC Official Calls Li Visit 'Complete Success'

LD2704035290 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 0245 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Beijing, 27 Apr (TASS)—"Our visit to the Soviet Union went very successfully, and we are satisfied with the results of it," Li Peng, premier of the State Council of the People's Republic of China, stated to Soviet diplomats who met him.

Li Zhaoxing, head of the press department of the PRC Ministry of Foreign Affairs, who accompanied the head of the Chinese Government on the trip to the USSR, told Soviet journalists at the steps from the aircraft that the visit by the premier of the PRC State Council to the USSR was crowned with complete success. The mood of all the members of the Chinese governmental delegation is very good.

Outcome of Gorbachev-Li Peng Talks Viewed

OW2704102090 Moscow International Service in Mandarin 0600 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Station observer Alekseyev commentary from the "Asian Events and Situation" program]

[Text] Soviet President Gorbachev and Li Peng, premier of the PRC State Council, met in the Kremlin on 24 April. Among the common views expressed by both sides is that, although certain differences exist in the stands of both sides toward some issues, these differences do not hinder further dialogue and mutually beneficial cooperation. Station observer Alekseyev writes as follows:

The attitude expressed by the two sides shows the major difference in Soviet - Chinese relations now from that in the 1950's. At that time, the two countries and parties proceeded from an unrealistic premise to expand cooperation. It was maintained at that time that the Soviet Union and China should adopt identical views on all the issues related to both internal and foreign affairs since the ruling Communist Party in the two countries share the same ideology. Of course, you are aware of the consequences that resulted in bilateral relations from this dogmatic attitude. It was mutually viewed as a fault on the part of the other side. The fact that neither side compromised resulted in estrangement for a long time.

Both the Soviet Union and China have drawn necessasry lessons from the past and reached necessary conclusions for the future. The principal conclusion is that only when the relations between socialist countries are based on the fact that every country has the right to be completely independent and to keep the initiative in its own hands in the implementation of its political ideologies and actual policies can they be truly sound and firm. This thinking has been repeatedly stressed in both the Soviet Union and China. No country has the right or authority to impose its understanding of an issue or situation on another side.

The communique issued after the meeting between Gorbachev and Li Peng says: Both sides share the common view that no omnipotent pattern or model exists for realizing the socialist ideologies and principles. Every country has its own history, peculiarities, and level from which it began its development. It will not do to fail to take these things into consideration. One thing regarded by the two countries as important is that the development of Soviet-Chinese relations should not be detrimental to the relations between third countries and to the relations between either the Soviet Union or China with any third country.

It has been proved that the two sides have strictly abided by this important principle since the announcement of complete normalization of Soviet-Chinese relations following Gorbachev's visit to China in May last year. The Soviet-Chinese talks in Moscow this time once again prove that this principle is indispensable for promoting further developement of bilateral relations. In my opinion, it is a supplemntary guarantee for making bilateral relations firm and stable.

Northeast Asia

'Tense Expectation' Reigns in Ulaanbaatar Square

LD2704061590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0530 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Since this morning Mongolia's Government House has been cordoned off by servicemen of the internal and border troops. At noon, on the initiative of the Mongolian Democratic Union and the Mongolian Democratic Party, as was announced, a demonstration is planned in the city's central square.

Earlier these organizations sent an ultimatum containing the demand that a transitional people's hural and an extraordinary council of Mongolia should be convened immediately with the equal participation of all the political forces in the country. It also contained a demand that the apparatus of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party [MPRP] Central Committee should be removed from Government House and that a reply should be given no later than 1200 [0300 GMT] on 27 April.

By this time Ulaanbaatar's central square had started to fill up with people. Small columns of young people carrying the red and blue state flags of Mongolia and the light blue signs of the Mongolian Democratic Union, the initiator of today's actions, are going there. The people who have gathered around are welcoming them with bursts of applause.

The period of the ultimatum has now run out for the president of the Great People's Hural of Mongolia and for the government of the MPRP Central Committee, and in the central square of the Mongolian capital a feeling of tense expectation reigns with regard to what is going to happen next.

That was a TASS telegram from Ulaanbaatar.

More on Rally in Ulaanbaatar Square

LD2704063690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Half an hour ago I told you about the situation in Ulaanbaatar, that Government House in the city's central square had been cordoned off by servicemen of the internal and frontier troops. Major manifestations are taking place there. Earlier the Mongolian Democratic Union came out with an ultimatum demanding that an assembly of Mongolia's Great Hural should be convened and that the apparatus of the Central Committee of the Mongolian Revolutionary Party should be expelled from the Government House. Now approximately two hours have passed since the set time, since the time designated in the ultimatum ran out, when the official authorities were to give a public reply to the demand of the Mongolian Democratic Union. Pickets and a many-thousand strong crowd remain in the square in expectation of this reply. On loud speakers the decree of the Great People's Hural of Mongolia on the order for holding rallies and demonstrations is being read out in the main square and in other places in the city. Appeals are heard for those participating in the demonstration to disperse. And the young participants in the actions are whistling down these appeals. From time to time from the ranks of the pickets and young people who have joined them, shouts resound demanding that the soldiers be removed from the square and demands are directed at the soldiers to disperse.

Just as before the leaders of the Mongolian Democratic Union are stating their resolve to wait for the official response to their demands. This is the situation at the present time in the Mongolian capital.

Ochirbat Asks for Restraint

LD2704083690 Moscow TASS in English 0826 GMT 27 Apr 90

[By TASS correspondents Kim Boldokhonov and Dugar Sanzhiev]

[Text] Ulaanbaatar April 27 TASS—The Mongolian Government House has been cordoned off by Interior

Ministry troops and border guards since early morning today. The measure was taken in connection with a demonstration called by the Mongolian Democratic Union and the Mongolian Democratic Party for noon in the city's central square.

Two days ago, representatives of these organisations submitted an ultimatum to the national assembly [People's Great Hural] Presidium, the Council of Ministers and the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. It demanded the immediate convocation of a provisional national assembly and the extraordinary people's council. They also demanded that the Central Committee apparatus be withdrawn from Government House and said they expected a reply before noon on Friday.

Late on Thursday and early today, the national radio broadcast an address to the nation by Mongolian leader Punsalmagiyn Ochirbat. He spoke in detail about how talks with the leaders of the Democratic Union and the Democratic Party had progressed and how they turned down the proposals made.

Ochirbat called upon working people to resist pressure, remain calm and warned against possible disruptions of production in work collectives and peace and order in the city.

Picket lines, nevertheless, were formed in front of the Government House. The placards they unfurled read: "Where is the equality of parties?", "For a provisional national assembly" and "For the extraordinary people's council". Groups of youngsters waving red-blue Mongolian state flags and plue emblems of the Democratic Union, the organizer of the action, approach the Government House from time to time. They are met with applause by those gathered in the square. Some tens of students chanted "Youth, unite" as they approached the square.

The protesters joined the pickets sitting on the pavement in front of Government House with their placards and slogans raised above their heads.

Interior Ministry troops and border guards have formed a line around the building.

Mongolian State Security Structure Reorganized

LD2404184590 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1107 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Ulaanbaatar, 24 Apr (TASS)—According to the MONTSAME news agency, a Main Administration for State Security has been formed here in place of the abolished Ministry of Public Security. Forty-eight-year-old General B. Tsiyregdzen has been appointed to head it.

Talking to a MONTSAME correspondent, the head of the administration noted that it will work strictly within the framework of the law. Functions outside its competence will be handed over to the relevant establishments. The prevention and halting of crimes against the state is our main task, the general said.

As a result of the reorganization of the previous ministry, staff has been cut by 40 percent and finance by 20 million Tughriks. In addition to this, the number of various services has been cut fourfold, B. Tsiyregdzen noted.

Kim Il-song, Family Members Elected Deputies

PM2504115690 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Apr 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Dispatch by own correspondent V. Lukashin: "DPRK: 'In an Atmosphere of Revolutionary Fervor'"]

[Text] Pyongyang—According to KCNA reports, elections of deputies to the DPRK Supreme People's Assembly, Ninth Convocation, were held 22 April. According to the Central Electoral Commission's report, all registered voters except those on official travel abroad had cast their votes "in an atmosphere of revolutionary fervor" by 1400 hours.

The first deputy to the country's parliament, unanimously elected in Nagwon Electoral District, was Kim Il-song, general secretary of the KWP [Korean Workers Party] Central Committee and president of the DPRK, "who, as KCNA emphasizes, founded the immortal ideas of chuche, brilliantly brought them to life, and built on our land a fully sovereign socialist power—independent, autonomous, and capable of self-defense." His son Kim Chong-il, who is member of the Central Committee Politburo Presidium, member of the party Military Commission, secretary of the KWP Central Committeem, and twice Hero of the DPRK, was elected deputy from Musan Electoral District.

Those elected by the people also include Kim Song-ae, Kim Il-song's wife and member of the KWP Central Committee, who holds the post of chairman of the Korean Democratic Women's Union Central Committee; his niece Kim Chong-suk, candidate member of the KWP Central Committee and chief editor of MINJU CHOSON; and her husband Ho Tam, member of the Politburo and secretary of the KWP Central Committee.

Other party and government leaders, workers, peasants, employees, and servicemen from the Korean People's Army were also elected as deputies.

The newspaper NODONG SINMUN published an article entitled "Superlative Electoral System Fully Guarantees Political Freedoms and Rights for the People's Masses." It emphasizes in particular that "the superiority of the electoral system is having a specific effect not only on the goals of the election itself but also on the persons who stand for election and are elected... Our country has neither flashes of personal lust for power nor persons who, ignoring candidates nominated at a voters' meeting, intend to stand for election themselves.

USSR-DPRK Cooperation Meeting Held 24 Apr

LD2404230190 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1622 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Pyongyang, 24 Apr (TASS)—The main areas for further improving of trade and economic cooperation between the USSR and the DPRK and for ensuring its character is one of equal rights and mutual advantage are at the center of attention of participants in the 24th sitting of the intergovernmental Soviet-Korean consultative commission on economic and scientific-technical questions, which began here today.

Before the start of the sitting a meeting took place of the co-chairmen of the Soviet and Korean parts of the commission—V.V. Nikitin, First Deputy Chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, and Kim Pok-sin, vice premier of the DPRK Adminstrative Council. During this meeting, the problem of raising the effectiveness of bilateral links and of making them more dynamic were touched upon in principle and the desire of both sides to bring about their expansion and strengthening for the good of the peoples of both countries was expressed.

Light Industry Cooperation With Ukraine Noted

SK2504080590 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 12 Apr 90

[From the "Annals of Friendship" program]

[Text] As we have already reported, a DPRK day is being observed in the Ukraine, one of the large Soviet socialist republics. A station reporter met (Nikolay Konenko), secretary of the Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet Presidium and chairman of the Ukrainian SSR branch of the Soviet- Korean Friendship Society, in Kiev, the capital of the Ukraine, and asked him to tell him how the DPRK day was being observed.

[(Konenko) heard speaking in Russian fading into Korean translation by announcer] The DPRK Day is of course an important event. It enables the workers of the Ukraine to better appreciate their fraternal people's unique culture and their successes in various fields. Last year a Ukraine Day was observed in the DPRK, and the DPRK day in the Ukraine is the continuation of inheritance of friendship between the peoples of the Ukraine and Korea. I led the delegates of our republic, and often recall how warmly we were welcomed in People's Korea and how well we were treated wherever we went.

DPRK day is being observed successfully in our republic. It will continue for 2 weeks. Not only the residents of Kiev but also those of other cities of our republic, such as Chernigov, Poltava, and (Yanta), will come to know Korea which is far away. They will see paintings, industrial arts, children's drawings, and Korean books on display. The Korean amateur artists from Kangwon Province, including musicians, singers, and dancers, will show their Ukrainian friends music and arts of their country. The Kangwon Provincial delegation led by (Yi Song-hae), chairman of the Korean-Soviet Friendship Society Kangwon Provincial Committee, is now visiting the industrial enterprises, sovkhozes, and educational institutions in the republic. The guests from the DPRK will soon be visiting the (Kremenchuk) Automobile Plant, the Russian sovkhoz in (Krim), and the Poltava Embroidery Institute.

The friendship and cooperation between the Ukraine and the DPRK have many years of history. The republic branch of the Soviet-Korean Friendship Society which marked the 30th anniversary of its founding contributes to their development. The branch consists of tens of primary organizations, including plants, enterprises, sovkhozes, kolkhozes, and higher and secondary educational institutions. Many of them maintain working cooperative relations with the workers of the People's Korea. For instance, the specialists of the (Yenyarg Prehest) Design Institute have been filling the orders for the designing of the construction of the thermal power plants of the DPRK for many years, including the Unggi and Chongjin thermal power plants were built. The designers in Kiev are now designing the new thermal power plant to be built in Tongpyongyang. Its capacity is 150,000 kw.

Relations in the field of light industry are among the new forms of cooperation between the two countries. Some 24 clothing complexes in our republic have working relations with tens of light industrial enterprises in the DPRK.

Relations in scientific and cultural fields are also expanding. Some 300 young men and women from the DPRK are studying in the higher educational institutions in other cities of the republic, namely, Kiyev, Odessa, and Kharkov. There many more instances of friendly relations between the workers of our republic and the People's Korea.

(Nikolay Konenko), secretary of the Ukrainian SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium, said that the DPRK day being observed in the Ukraine contributes to the development of Soviet-Korean friendship henceforth.

Samsung Participates in Moscow Hotel Construction

SK2604020390 Moscow International Service in Korean 1100 GMT 15 Apr 90

[Gist of article carried by Soviet sports paper, SOVIETSKIY SPORT, entitled "Adding to the Myth of Samsung" under the "Focus on Asia" program]

[Text] The international magazine HOTEL AND RESTAURANT claims that men are fascinated not only by women but by hotels. Very rare as the advertisement is, we can hardly comprehend the contents of the advertisement when it says a certain hotel has five stars. Those who have experienced good service in a hotel know that there are hotels that give nothing but love and rapture. There are not many hotels of this kind. There are only about 50 such hotels in the whole world. Among them is

the Silla Hotel in Seoul. One may praise this hotel, built by the Samsung Company, as a genuine work of art. Soon we will have an opportunity to find out what kind of hotel has five stars, according to international (?standards). One of the companies of the Samsung Co. Ltd. will directly participate in the reconstruction of the (?Sports) of Moscow Hotel. The contract for this project has been signed between the (?Sports Supply) side under the Soviet State Sports Committee, and Samsung Co. In an interview carried by SOVIETSKIY SPORT Chairman Yi of the construction company of Samsung said that this is the first case of joint venture cooperation between an ROK company and a Soviet organization.

Chairman Yi continued: If we succeed this time, we will have a basis for future joint venture work. According to the joint venture project, Samsung Co. will undertake the work of the reconstruction of [words indistinct] of the (?Sports Hotel), and will (?build) a restaurant [words indistinct]. The joint venture enterprise between the (?Sports Supply) side and Samsung will jointly manage the renovated (?inn). Some $2 million has been invested in the contract, and this is not a very large amount for Samsung. However, it is not the amount that matters. It is to be highly valued that we have finally been able to take prudent steps in forming economic relations with the Soviet Union."

Samsung Co. Ltd., consisting of some 30 companies of various kinds, ranks top of all large business groups of the ROK. Nevertheless, Samsung has already entered into the first joint venture business, instead of ordinary business, with its Soviet colleagues. The (?Sports Supply bureau) of the Soviet Union received applications from many companies of the world which had the courage to participate in the work of reconstructing the (?sports hotel), and it selected Samsung from among them. The reason for this can be explained by the fact that this company enjoys a strong reputation throughout the world. You can also (?refer to) the Silla Hotel, which, standing tall in Seoul, is loved by tourists, for that reason. The renovated part of the (?Sports Hotel) will begin its joint management in September 1991.

Near East & South Asia

Gorbachev Sends Congratulations to Najibullah

LD2604154990 Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev has congratulated President Najibullah and the friendly people of Afghanistan on the 12th anniversary of the April revolution. The message of greeting says the date is being marked at a time when the Afghan patriots are pressing for an end to the fratricidal war and the restoration of long-desired peace in the country. The Soviet Union, the message says, supports the policy of national reconciliation aimed at securing the status of a sovereign, nonaligned and neutral state for Afghanistan.

Syria's Al-Asad Arrives in Moscow 27 Apr

LD2704144390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1434 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow, 27 Apr (TASS)—Ha.ïz al-Asud, president of the Syrian Arab Republic, arrived on a working visit in Moscow today in accordance with what has been agreed upon.

U.S. Mainly to Blame for Mideast Tensions

PM2604104590 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 24 Apr 90 First Edition p 3

[Part two of "Stability and Confrontation" series by Lieutenant General V. Bogdanov]

[Text]

II. Near and Middle East

The Near and Middle East is considered perhaps the most troubled region of the world. There are several seats of tension there which account for the complexity of the regional military-political situation.

The Arab-Israeli crisis, which centers on the Palestinian problem, has now been in progress for many years. The Israeli political leadership still rejects the very idea of creating a Palestinian state and refuses to holds talks with the PLO, which has been recognized by the United Nations as the sole legitimate representative of the people of Palestine. It has been announced in Israel that the occupied territories on the West Bank of the Jordan and in the Gaza strip have been earmarked for the resettlement of immigrants from the Soviet Union, and this has also provoked wrathful indignation in the Arab world.

But the peculiar situation of "neither peace nor war" between Iraq and Iran and the continuing war in Afghanistan do not help strengthen stability in the Near and Middle East either.

The policy implemented by the United States and a number of its allies in the Near and Middle East still puts us on our guard. It has always attached and still attaches great political, economic, and military significance to this oil-rich region that borders on the Soviet Union. People in the West do not hide the fact that the role of the Near and Middle East in the context of confrontation is increasing in connection with the progress made in relaxing tension in Europe. The United States and its allies are actively implementing the course of expanding and consolidating their positions there and undermining Soviet influence in the Arab and Muslim world.

Washington officially describes the Near and Middle East as a zone of "vital importance for U.S. interests." In 1980 rapid deployment forces were created to defend these interests, along with the unified Central Command in 1983 to which these forces were made subordinate. The numerical strength of the rapid deployment forces, which comprise, along with surface troops, hundreds of

warplanes and dozens of warships, can be increased to 400,000 men. Centcom has been allocated various tasks—the elaboration of scenarios and operational plans for the use of rapid deployment forces in their zone of responsibility, the organization and implementation—with them and also jointly with the national forces of the countries of the region—of troop and command and staff exercises, the coordination of the sale and shipment of U.S. weapons and military hardware, and aid to countries with pro-U.S. regimes in training troops and organizing work to improve their infrastructure—above all in the interests of the rapid deployment forces.

Quite major U.S. and NATO naval groupings are quite regularly to be found in the waters around the region. Thus, 25-27 ships of the U.S. 6th Fleet, including an aircraft carrier, an amphibious assault ship, and submarines, are in the Mediterranean. A considerable number of NATO warships are concentrated in the Persian Gulf, the Gulf of Oman, and the Indian Ocean.

Against whom specifically and primarily are these impressive U.S. forces targeted? People in Washington have always bawled about the "Soviet threat" in this connection. They are still talking about it now although, if we are to believe THE NEW YORK TIMES, the new secret Pentagon military planning guidance for 1992-1997 rejects these clearly farfetched fears. "Defense Department personnel," the newspaper reports, "have concluded that it is unlikely that the Soviets will march into the oil-bearing areas of the Persian Gulf. The propagandist anti-Soviet rhetoric conceals plans relating directly to Near and Middle East countries. It is no coincidence that Iran, Iraq, Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Jordan, and other states in the region are included in Centcom's "zone of responsibility."

The United States and other NATO countries recently demonstrated great-power ambitions when they announced their withdrawal from the UN Special Committee on the Indian Ocean. This action can only be seen as intended to frustrate this year's expected international conference, which should be the means of implementing the UN General Assembly declaration proclaiming the Indian Ocean a peace zone.

The fact that the countries of the region are themselves being increasingly dragged into the arms race is also having an adverse impact on the Near and Middle East situation. The rapid increase in military spending has been brought about by the unstable military-political situation. In Saudi Arabia, for instance, military spending has risen by almost 20 percent annually. The United States, France, Britain, and the FRG act as the main purveyors of arms to the region's countries. The Soviet Union supplies some weapons to certain countries.

The main countries on which the United States relies in implementing its policy are Israel, Saudi Arabia, and Pakistan. Diverse, primarily military U.S. aid has transformed Israel into a militarist state with an explicitly aggressive policy. By creating its own military production, Israel has become one of the world's arms suppliers. The fact that Israel is working on nuclear technology with a view to developing nuclear weapons and is also elaborating and testing ballistic missiles with a range of 1,000-1,500km arouses particular disquiet in the region.

Following the revolution against the shah in Iran in 1979, when it had to remove its numerous military facilities from the country, the United States began to seek other countries near to the USSR on whose territory a U.S. military presence could be ensured. The choice fell, in particular, on Pakistan, with which an agreement was signed on economic and military cooperation. Islamabad agreed to permit U.S. ships to call periodically at Pakistani ports and USAF aircraft to use certain airfields. In exchange Pakistan receives modern weapons and combat hardware, including the latest F-16 fighter bombers, tanks, armored personnel carriers, and self-propelled artillery guns.

The Pakistani leadership agreed to transform its territory into the bridgehead for the undeclared war against Afghanistan. Both the United States and Pakistan failed to fulfill the Geneva agreements on Afghanistan, and this made it impossible to extinguish the seat of war—as the world public had hoped—in that long-suffering country after the Soviet troop withdrawal.

U.S. militarist activity in the Near and Middle East causes a demarcation of political forces in the region and an increase in the influence of the monarchical regimes headed by Saudi Arabia on the development of events in the Arab world. These regimes are keen to expand bilateral cooperation with the United States and its allies and are effectively ready to coordinate with Washington on a number of elements of a solution to the Palestinian problem. At the same time these monarchies are reluctant to set up military-political alliances involving Western powers or to grant the Pentagon permanent bases on their territory.

We can see that the continuing instability in the military-political situation in the Near and Middle East is determined by the U.S. and NATO endeavor to expand and reinforce their positions there, the attempts made by certain U.S.-NATO circles to turn the region into an arena for confrontation with the USSR, the persistent tension between the Arab states and Israel and, last, the increase in developing countries' economic dependence on the United States and the West.

The Soviet Union's policy aimed at ensuring that all foreign military bases are eliminated and foreign military presence on other countries' territory done away with by the year 2000 fully applies to the Near and Middle East.

Prospects for Iran-U.S. Rapprochement Viewed

NC2504150790 Moscow in Persian to Iran 1500 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Yuriy Andreyev commentary]

[Text] Dear listeners, the tragic tale of the American hostages in Lebanon has once again focused attention on relations between Iran and the United States. As we know, the release of Robert Polhill, the American associate professor in Beirut, was made possible under the auspices of Tehran's constructive stance.

The background to this release is the violent political dispute over the issue of hostages which took place exactly 10 years ago. On 24 April 1980, Washington staged an abortive military operation against Tehran to secure the release of its diplomats who had been taken hostage in Iran.

At that time, the Islamic irreconciliability of Iran clashed with the rigid stance of Washington, which sought to achieve its ends regardless of the means. It was nothing short of a miracle that a military confrontation and bloodshed was averted. The policy of taking hostages on the one hand and the efforts to resolve this issue by resorting to force on the other brought all aspects of international relations to the brink of explosion and appeared to threaten the security of the entire region.

It seems that today the situation is changing. There is a growing realization that extremist solutions to international issues are unacceptable. For example, Tehran has categorically disociated itself from the policy of hostage taking and vehemently condemns this policy. Iranian President 'Ali Akbar Hashemi-Rafsanjani said last month that all Western hostages in Lebanon should be released. Iranian Deputy Foreign Minister 'Ali Mohammad Besharati has stated frankly: We do not wish to have hostile relations with the United States and we are ready to assist in the issue of the hostages.

For its part, Washington has displayed a sort of flexibility and expressed its willingness to compromise. It is enough to recall that the U.S. Government decided to return $567 million of Iranian assets frozen in U.S. banks to Iran. In addition, there are continuing reports of covert talks between the White House and Tehran, which indicate a trend toward complete normalization of relations between the two countries. It is obvious that Iranian-U.S. relations will gradually improve. The release of Robert Polhill by the pro-Iranian Islamic Jihad for the Liberation of Palestine on Sunday is evidence of this statement.

Washington specially thanked the Iranian Government for its assistance in this regard. On the same day, an editorial in the TEHRAN TIMES, one of the country's leading newspapers, called for the release of another American hostage within a week. Yesterday, U.S. State Department official John Kelly admitted during a television interview that the United States wishes to continue its indirect contacts with Iran.

Of course, there is still a long way to go before relations between Iran and the United States are completely normalized. The past continues to cast a long shadow over current developmetns. Intense political differences and reciprocal financial claims remain unresolved and the issue of the hostages has not been finally settled. Nevertheless, the two sides have taken steps toward one another and an inclination to reject all kinds of political blackmail and resort to talks instead is gradually becoming apparent in U.S.-Iranian relations.

Casualties in Kathmandu, Curfew Reported

PM2504121590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Apr 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Dispatch by own correspondent N. Paklin: "Disturbances in Nepal"]

[Excerpts] Delhi—There have been serious disturbances in Nepal's capital Kathmandu. The local police fired at the people. There are six killed and 70 wounded. The crowd took the law into its own hands and beat 11 policemen to death. Appraising events at the heat of the moment, K.P. Bhattarai, prime minister of the mountain kingdom, declared that this was "an attempt by reactionary forces to destabilize and discredit the people's government." [passage omitted]

Taking the sharp exacerbation of the situation into account, the Council of Ministers decided to bring army units out in the streets of Kathmandu. A curfew is in force in the city. "Commandos" have been entrusted with guarding the royal palace. These measures are also dictated by the fact that the police has virtually refused to cooperate with Nepal's new government which emerged from the movement for restoration of democracy in the country. This is also due in particular to the fact that many policemen, whose hands are stained with the blood of Nepalese patriots, fear retribution for their crimes.

Saudis Donate One Million Korans to Soviet Muslims

PM2504134790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Apr 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Own correspondent F. Ivanov report: "For Soviet Muslims"]

[Text] Fellow believers in Saudi Arabia have donated one million copies of the Koran to Soviet Muslims.

As K. Moldobayev, deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers Religious Affairs Council, told your IZVESTIYA correspondent, the World Islamic League has acted as mediator in this philanthropic act. The first tens of thousands of holy books have been shipped to the Soviet Union on four Aeroflot charter flights. Pilots will have to make another 25 flights to Saudi Arabia to transport the remaining copies.

According to information from the USSR Civil Aviation Ministry, the possibility of sending the first Soviet

Muslim pilgrims to Mecca is now being considered. The question of paying for the charter flights and of establishing who will be responsible for transporting the believers from the airport to the Muslim holy place has yet to be decided.

Iraqi Public Figure Dies in Moscow 22 Apr

LD2404012190 Moscow TASS in English 2040 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 24 TASS—Iraqi public figure Aziz Sherif [name as received] died after a long illness at the age of 85 in Moscow on Saturday, an obituary of the Committee for International Lenin Peace Prizes and the Soviet Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee said.

Sherif was honorary vice-president of the Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organisation and laureate of the International Lenin Peace Prize.

The committees conveyed sincere condolences to his family and friends.

East Europe

USSR Ready for 'Friendly Links' With Albania

AU2504185490 Moscow in Albanian to Albania 1500 GMT 25 Apr 90

["In the Interest of the Soviet and Albanian Peoples"—"Declaration by the Spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union on the Prospects for the Reestablishment of Relations Between the Soviet Union and Albania"]

[Text] Dear friends,

As we have already reported in our broadcasts, Vadim Perfilyev, the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union held a news conference for domestic and foreign correspondents on 24 April. He stated among other things:

The latest declaration by Albania's leader, Ramiz Alia, first secretary of the Albanian Workers Party Central Committee and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Assembly of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, on that country's interest in the restoration of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union, has drawn the attention of people in the Soviet Union. This declaration was made at a plenum of the Albanian Workers Central Committee plenum.

The Soviet side considers this declaration by the leader of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania as an important positive step on the way toward the normalization of bilateral Soviet-Albanian relations and expresses its readiness for the reestablishment and development of friendly links with Albania on the basis of full equality and respect for the sovereignty, independence, territorial integrity, noninterference in each other's affairs, and mutual benefit.

Proceeding from the principles of the new [word indistinct], people in Moscow believe, the spokesman added, that the restoration of friendly relations between the Soviet Union and Albania would correspond with the interests of the peoples of both countries and the strengthening of peace and international cooperation.

And now, here is a commentary by our observer, Germaniy (?Kuvik):

It is difficult to exaggerate the importance of the question raised in the declaration by the spokesman of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union. Having defended their freedom and independence in the common struggle against the fascist aggressors, and building the new society, our peoples became separated from each other for nearly 30 years. Soviet people have never considered the situation that was created in Soviet-Albanian relations to be normal.

Such a situation could only exist under the conditions of the domination of the administrative-command system. The shifting of ideological differences between the parties and leaders of our countries onto the field of inter-state relations is, in my opinion, an convincing example of this. A good part of the blame for the break in Soviet-Albanian relations must undoubtedly fall on the then leader of the Soviet Union, Nikita Khrushchev, personally.

The break of relations aroused disillusionment and regret among the Soviet people, who have always nurtured and continue to nurture today sentiments of sincere friendship and sympathy for the fraternal Albanian people. We also believe that, as Ramiz Alia said recently, the Albanian people never had a hostile attitude toward the Soviet Union. This is proven, among other things, by the memories and impressions of Soviet people who have worked selflessly side by side with Albanians in the construction of various projects during the first 5-year periods in Albania.

Ramiz Alia's statement on Albania's interest in the restoration of diplomatic relations with the Soviet Union and the declaration made by the representative of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Soviet Union on our country's readiness to respond in this direction, represent a great political step in the matter of the normalization of bilateral relations. It is appropriate, in my opinion, to stress that for a great many years the Soviet Government has consistently followed a principled iine on the restoration of links with the People's Socialist Republic of Albania. The Soviet Government has also made concrete steps to seek and find solutions to this problem.

Now, as is shown by the declaration of the representative of the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Affairs, our country once again reiterates its readiness for the restoration and development of friendly relations with Albania on the basis of full equality, respect for sovereignty, independence, and territorial integrity, noninterference in each other's mutual affairs, and mutual benefit.

Thus, the first stone has been laid on the foundations of the reestablishment of Soviet-Albanian relations. The Soviet people, are following the beginning of the dialogue between the two sides and express the wish that it may be concluded as quickly as possible and that it may bring good results. This would correspond, and we are convinced of this, with the interests of Albania and of the Soviet Union, as well as to the strengthening of peace and international cooperation.

Return of Violence to Bucharest Streets Reported

PM2704092990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Apr 90 Second Edition p 4

["On The Spot" report by own correspondent V. Vedrashko: "Wave of 'Street Democracy'"]

[Text] Bucharest, 25 Apr—The events that have unfolded these past few days in downtown Bucharest, in the very place where, on 21-22 December, weapons were used against people with revolution on their minds, worry not only the inhabitants of the capital. The whole country is keeping a close eye on the development of the situation.

Yesterday, during a long and heated parliamentary debate, Ion Iliescu, chairman of the Provisional Council for National Accord, described the events as another manifestation of strong-arm pressure on the organs of power by irresponsible elements.

What is happening in Bucharest, then? Last Sunday there was a demonstration here in support of the Timisoara appeal—the now-popular document upholding the "anticommunist ideals of the Romanian revolution." As evening approached the police appeared, wearing helmets and carrying riot shields. The emotional factor probably played the decisive role. The demonstrators stood their ground and remained in the square. Early in the morning the police used force. According to some members of parliament, dozens of people were arrested.

On Monday University Square resembled a battlefield. Hundreds of demonstrators were chanting "Timisoara!" and calling for the removal of Interior Minister Chitac and Provisional Council for National Accord Chairman Iliescu. There were several thousand people in all on the square.

The demonstrators fiercely criticized the government for "preserving the old state structures" and for "intolerance of criticism." One of the central points in the demonstrators' demands is implementation of the Timisoara appeal not to allow former Romanian Communist Party activists to participate in elections in the immediate future.

As I transmit this information, there are still hundreds of people on the square.

Action Aims to 'Discredit' Iliescu

PM2704111590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Apr 90 Morning Edition p 5

[Dispatch by correspondent V. Volodin: "Disturbances in Downtown Bucharest"]

[Excerpts] Bucharest—The demonstrations which are still continuing in University Square began last Sunday evening, when several hundred people headed by a certain Dumitru Dinca appeared there following a noisy rally outside the television building. They were chanting the now customary slogans: "Down with communism!" and "Down with Iliescu!" [passage omitted]

It is an open secret that the forces organizing this action pursue a clearly expressed aim. Namely to discredit I. Iliescu, chairman of the NSF [National Salvation Front] and Romanian interim head of state.

I found myself once again in the square in front of the Intercontinental Hotel. The capital's wide avenue was barred not by symbolic tricolor ribbons but by a barricade constructed from building panels. The following was written in large Russian letters on one of them: "NSF—KGB!"

One of the participants in the action told me that its organizers include the National Peasants Party, which is in opposition to the NSF.

Motor traffic was restored to the square Wednesday morning. The barricades had disappeared, and the sidewalks were under the control of solid cordons of armed policemen. But then disturbances resumed in University Square.

GDR Premier's Interview in German Paper Cited

PM2504103190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Apr 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Unnamed TASS correspondent report: "GDR: The Prime Minister on Ties With CEMA"]

[Text] Bonn—GDR Prime Minister L. De Maiziere has spoken in favor of preserving for a certain period the GDR's participation in CEMA, which guarantees stability of its trade and economic ties with the USSR and other member countries of this organization. "We cannot allow," he declared in an interview with West German newspaper DIE WELT, "the emergence of uncontrolled circulation of goods when creating an economic union with the FRG... Certain measures are needed to protect the spheres associated with exports to the Soviet Union which account for up to 10 percent of our output volume and guarantee about 600,000 jobs. On the other hand, the GDR needs continued deliveries of oil, gas, and other raw materials."

Answering a question about the expected duration of Soviet troops' stay in the GDR, the GDR head of government declared that "this will depend on talks under the 'two plus four' formula and the creation of a

peaceful order within the CSCE process." This, in turn, requires a transition "from the prevailing security system, based primarily on military structures, to a system of economic, cultural, and other pledges."

Will a united Germany be free from nuclear weapons—this is primarily a question concerning the two great powers. "But this would be a wonderful prospect, and I do not think that the maintenance of the nuclear threat would be in line with German interests," L. De Maiziere stressed.

Everything must be done to ensure that the process of unification causes no anxiety among our neighbors, L. De Maiziere declared. This is why this process must result in a document guaranteeing European borders.

Rakowski Ponders Polish Communists' Errors

PM2604114190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Apr 90 Second Edition p 3

[Interview in Warsaw with Mieczyslaw Rakowski by TASS correspondent V. Runov: "'Any Price' Is Too Dear. Mieczyslaw Rakowski on Fate of Left-Wing Movement in Poland"; date not given; first paragraph is SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA introduction]

[Text] Following the 11th PZPR [Polish United Workers Party] Congress—the last one in history—and the constituent congress of the SdRP [Social Democracy of the Polish Republic], the split in the country's left-wing forces became a fact. By mid-March the SdRP had gained 47,000 members. Approximately 80 percent of them were members of the former PZPR. What are the causes of the crisis now being experienced by Poland's left-wing movement? At our request the TASS correspondent in Warsaw met with Mieczyslaw Rakowski, who was heading the PZPR on the eve of its last congress. Today he is an independent publicist and is preparing to publish a new journal of left-wing forces. He plans to publish the journal, whose name has not yet been decided, himself—not in the name of any organization. M. Rakowski answered SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA's questions.

[Runov] Only a few months have elapsed since the PZPR disbanded. You, who led the party to its last congress, must see more clearly than anyone why the PZPR suddenly and quickly fell apart after being in power for more than 40 years. What is the reason why Poland is now one of the few countries in Europe where there is no communist party?

[Rakowski] The PZPR lost because of its conservative nature. In order to understand just what happened, it is necessary to examine all the problems associated with the party's defeat from precisely this viewpoint. The drama consists in the fact that from the moment it acceded to power the PZPR was almost always guided by conservative principles. After each new crisis declarations were issued that from precisely that moment communists would take a new road and that everything must be done differently. But as soon as a relative stabilization of the situation was achieved, the PZPR instantly returned to its former positions.

The party had several opportunities to restructure itself, starting in 1956. Recent opportunities were missed in 1981 and 1985, when society still had some time for and trust in the PZPR. And, who knows, had it used those opportunities, maybe events would have developed quite differently not only in Poland but also throughout East Europe. I believe that our Soviet comrades still have an opportunity to accelerate the pace of perestroyka by radicalizing reforms with the help of the CPSU—a party with great potential reserves.

[Runov] The mistakes made as a result of omissions of a strategic nature are roughly clear. Did the PZPR have an opportunity to restructure itself on the move, to preserve unity, and to surmount the protracted internal party crisis?

[Rakowski] This question could be put somewhat differently, more concretely. Was the party leadership's tactic correct during the last months before the PZPR's disbandment, when the goal of preserving unity at any price was set?

History will give the definitive answer to this question. I personally was a supporter of unity, although not at any price. But maybe it ought to be said openly that anyone who wishes to unite in a party on his own platform should be permitted to do so freely. In my opinion this experience should also be studied well and taken into account by other communist parties, since many of them are experiencing similar difficulties which, accumulating over the years, inevitably lead to a split. And if it occurs spontaneously, there is a danger that the nucleus of left-wing forces disintegrates, as happened with the PZPR. In this case the party breaks up into small fragments which cannot be glued together.

We must not cling stubbornly to a dogma of unity, because that does tremendous harm. But it is also very difficult to get away from this stereotype: For decades several generations of communists were brought up on the principle that unity must be preserved at any price.

To return to the Polish experience and analyze in detail the situation that preceded the PZPR's disbandment, it cannot be said that all the party leadership's actions constituted an unbroken chain of mistakes. The decision to begin talks with the opposition was none other than a manifest recognition of faits accomplis, i.e. of the fact that nonsocialist forces had emerged into the political arena. The PZPR could not fail to take that step. It was forced to create conditions for a large-scale social experiment and was itself the object of it. It is perfectly clear now that an attempt to preserve the status quo would have led only to a tragedy with consequences very hard to foresee. The experience of other East European countries has shown that it is just one step from a "tender revolution" to bloody carnage.

[Runov] How honestly did the opposition behave in such a situation, if it is possible to speak in these terms at all at a time when an uncompromising political struggle was being waged for power?

[Rakowski] We were not fully aware of the consequences awaiting us from the time of the opposition's legalization. Somewhere deep down in our souls we still believed that we would succeed in organizing peaceful coexistence with our political opponent. Naturally the opposition readily took advantage of the offer to get involved in public life, because it had been striving for just that for many years. It emerged into the political arena with its own concepts, which differed to a considerable degree from those offered at the time of the "roundtable" talks. As for the communists, they were carefree and overconfident of their own strength. The PZPR had the opportunity to remain in power only if it attempted to slough off its "old skin," looking at the situation through the opposition's eyes and taking those steps that the opponent intended to take.

I could cite several examples where attempts were made to utilize opportunities of that kind. For example, the introduction of market mechanisms and measures to implement the zloty's convertibility were introduced at the time when I was leading the government. These were correct steps, but they were taken very belatedly. The present Council of Ministers is moving in the same direction. And Deputy Prime Minister Balcerowicz, who is responsible for the economy in Mazowiecki's government, is one of the few people who have not said a single bad word about me. I believe that this is no coincidence, because he realizes that he is following a well-trodden track.

[Runov] You have worked in many key state posts. You have been vice marshal of the Sejm, first secretary of the PZPR Central Committee, and chairman of the country's Council of Ministers. Such experience gives you a moral right not only to speak about the past but to make forecasts for the future and to assess the actions of those who now stand at the helm of power in the country. How do you now see the past, and what do you expect of the future?

[Rakowski] We made many mistakes while in power, but no one is insured against them. "Solidarity" also is not guided by predetermined dogmas in analyzing its opponents' actions. Until a strong political opponent has grown up, the authorities can rest assured, but no one knows how long this comfortable situation will last.

The chief mistake of all the communist reformers of our time without exception is the fact that they have adopted and still adopt half-baked decisions which do not satisfy society's needs but only whet its appetite. Precisely such a situation is extremely advantageous for oppositionists, who, in addition to criticizing their own opponents, promise to resolve all existing problems.

One of the important factors influencing the slowing up of the reform processes in the country when I was premier was the fact that party functions were never entirely separated from government functions. Similar phenomena are to be observed in "Solidarity." Its narrow circle of leaders tackles all the most important problems and adopts key decisions. These are the first manifestations of the kind of monopoly on power against which the opposition always struggled so doggedly.

[Runov] And yet so far the government has mainly managed to implement its plans. Can this be called a success? Or has Poland turned another curve which will end in a crisis of confidence in the noncommunist authorities?

[Rakowski] Mazowiecki and his team really have managed to do a great deal. But it must not be forgotten at what price this has been achieved. The drop in living standards is approaching 50 percent, unemployment is growing at an increasing pace, and the position of working people is continuing to deteriorate. Nevertheless, everyone is patiently awaiting improvements. At present the population meekly accepts as the main cause of its grave situation the argument that the communists are to blame for all the misfortunes.

It follows from certain ministers' statements that they would like to restore capitalism in Poland and introduce the almost universal privatization of the economy. I, too, am a supporter of radical reforms, but I proceed from the principle that the pace of transformations must accord with society's level of awareness, and that these transformations must be implemented within the framework of socialist values. The actions of the present government have had an extremely negative impact on the economic position of the majority of working people. It is quite impossible now to answer the question of whether society will stand for such a blow.

[Runov] How do you see the future of the Polish left-wing movement, and what are the prospects of the SdRP and the PUS [Polish Social Democratic Union], which have emerged on the basis of the disintegrated PZPR?

[Rakowski] It is very important how the future party, which aspires to represent the left-wing movement, assesses the past. It would be a tremendous mistake to totally disown its history, as the PUS has done. Before the last PZPR congress there was a group of comrades in the party who decided that by renouncing the past they would be able to win the trust of the masses but, chiefly, they were hoping thereby to win the favor of their political opponents and reckoning on being accepted as partners in the salons of the new parliamentary democracy. However, this did not happen. The PUS, as its leaders admit, has no more than 6,000 members. Despite the fact that they renounced their whole PZPR past, this in no way altered their position. People customarily have no respect for those who renounce their parents. And this is what happened with that party. The SdRP has chosen a different path. Its leaders have rejected everything that

is worthy of censure but preserved the priceless experience accumulated by the left-wing forces over many years of political struggle.

In addition, the problem of leaders remains difficult and delicate. They are not born in the space of a single month. There can be no haste in resolving these questions. Considerable harm was done before the final PZPR congress by the pompous slogan: "new party—new leaders." This meant that all whom the communists knew well were a priori excluded from the political struggle. But it could be years before new leaders emerge into the arena. This campaign did great harm to the PZPR.

[Runov] Do you still consider yourself a participant in the country's political life?

[Rakowski] It is possible to participate in political life in different ways, without necessarily holding any high post. I am speaking and will speak as a publicist.

U.S. WWII Servicemen Honored in CSFR

LD2604052390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 2040 GMT 25 Apr 90

[From the "Television News Service" program]

[Text] Today is also the 45th anniversary of the American air raids on Nazi-occupied Pizen. To mark the date, a monument to American airmen has been unveiled in Czechoslovakia. Twelve of them died during the operation, while altogether, 136 Americans died in Czechoslovakia during the war.

I will remind you that the number of Soviet soldiers who died there was 144,000. I am not saying this for jingoistic reasons but because at the same time that Americans are being honored, desecrations of monuments to our soldiers are continuing in that country. Insulting inscriptions are appearing on the legendary T-34's [World War II tanks mounted as monuments] in Czechoslovakia.

TASS has reported that on 5 May, an American Sheridan tank will be taking part in the markings of the Pizen liberation anniversary. It was received by the Prague military museum in exchange for our T-34.

Anti-Soviet 'Vandalism' in East Europe Viewed

PM2604103790 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 25 Apr 90 First Edition p 3

[Article by Candidate of Historical Sciences S. Khudyakov: "Vandalism: There Is No Place for It in the Processes of Renewal"]

[Text] The process of revolutionary changes in the East European countries is reminiscent of a tumultuous spring torrent. Events developed at breakneck speed and across a very broad range: from the "gentle" revolution in Czechoslovakia to the tragic episodes in Romania. Surely few people doubt that this is a cleansing torrent. Yes, perestroyka in the Soviet Union undoubtedly gave rise to the current situation in the East European countries. Nevertheless, it is perplexing that in the kaleidoscope of events taking place in our neighbors' countries you occasionally glimpse things which do not fit into Soviet people's consciousness—namely, acts of vandalism. These acts committed in the mass burial grounds of Soviet servicemen who died during World War II constitute one of the most repugnant manifestations of anti-Sovietism. Why do they happen?

I have heard the following arguments used on this score. Many negative phenomena in the lives of those countries in the past 45 years are linked with the Soviet Union. In particular, the fact that the administrative-edict system was introduced there with the direct participation of the Soviet leadership of that time and that attempts to escape the clutches of that system were suppressed also with the direct interference of the USSR, including armed interference.

Are these reproaches fair? In principle, yes. But can they serve to justify vandalism? Can anything at all justify vandalism? The answer, in my view, is clear. It is an insult not only to Soviet people but also to the people of the country where these acts are committed.

It is said that anti-Soviet feelings are prompted by the prolonged presence of Soviet troops on the territory of some East European countries. Those troops are often regarded as an instrument of pressure remaining in the hands of the USSR which may be used should perestroyka fail in the Soviet Union itself. Generally speaking, such fears are understandable. However, to seek in them the cause of the extremists' excesses is to try to give a simplistic explanation of the moral anomalies which are particularly manifest in periods of social upheaval.

It is a glaring injustice that the Soviet officers and soldiers who were the target of demonstrators' angry slogans in Prague, Warsaw, Berlin, and Budapest should be made to bear the moral responsibility for the mistakes of our country's past leaders who used the Army as a means of putting political pressure on "fraternal countries." And it is utterly immoral to blame this on those who laid down their lives freeing Eastern Europe from fascism.

Respect for the memory of those who fell in the struggle is one of the unshakable foundations of modern culture. The revolutionary changes now occurring in Eastern Europe are aimed at reviving it. There is no place for vandalism in this process.

Roundtable on East European Developments

PM2604141690 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 25 Apr 90 Second Edition p 5

[S. Semendyayev account of roundtable readers' phone-in with V.L. Musatov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; Yu.K. Knyazev,

chief of the European Socialist Countries Department at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System; and V.A. Dementyev, an expert from the USSR Foreign Ministry European Socialist Countries Administration: "A Step Forward, or Two Steps Back? Eastern Europe: Roundtable Discussion"—date of roundtable not stated]

[Text] The rapid changes in Eastern Europe interest everyone. This was again confirmed by the "phone-in" organized by our newspaper, "Eastern Europe: Experts' Opinions." More than 80 people put various questions to the editorial office, and readers were answered, for two hours, by V.L. Musatov, deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; Yu.K. Knyazev, chief of the European Socialist Countries Department at the USSR Academy of Sciences Institute of Economics of the World Socialist System; and V.A. Dementyev, an expert from the USSR Foreign Ministry European Socialist Countries Administration. We thank all who took part in the "phone-in." We publish here the answers to some of the questions which we felt to be the most interesting.

[Reader] Good day, Nikolay Ivanovich Lebedev here. My first question: Why has the socialist camp disintegrated so quickly and why has socialism been defeated in the East European countries, which we liberated and where we lost millions of people?

[Musatov] I will try to answer these questions. The first question, why such rapid changes? First, the changes were brewing for a long time, if you take....

[Lebedev] Did you know about it?

[Musatov] Of course we sensed that changes would take place in those countries, for objective reasons, as I would put it. The system that developed in Eastern Europe after the war operated until a given moment, but has now come into conflict with life. Those countries took up our model, and indeed, we basically imposed that model, although it was not entirely appropriate to local conditions. And if you remember, there were always hitches of some kind: the GDR in 1953, Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968, then the prolonged crisis in Poland. These were all signs of impending changes, a precrisis situation. Our perestroyka, of course, supplied the ideological impetus, but we did not interfere in those processes, we did not do any pushing.

Now take Yugoslavia, Hungary, Poland. Here the reforms were taking place over a lengthy period, and the changes have been smooth, with no explosions, no people's uprisings as in Romania, because the ruling party realized that it could not handle the situation on its own. But where the leaders offered every possible resistance and clung to power—Honecker, Zhivkov, the Czechoslovak leaders—there was a thunderclap and an avalanche of changes began.

A new system is now taking shape in the East European countries, which it is hard to put a name to. A quest is in progress for a new model of state social structure.

The phenomenon is that in the GDR and Czechoslovakia they already live better than we do, and therefore their former leaders thought: We live better than the Russians, we don't need any perestroyka, all is quiet here. Nonetheless, the explosion came. It is not only a question of economic conditions. How a person feels in moral terms, what the atmosphere is like in society, what prospects there are for the development of the individual—those are the important things.

[G.V. Sungurov, Moscow] The possibility, enshrined in legislation, of setting contractual prices between the producer and the trade sector leads to group egotism, inflation, and shortages. In which "socialist camp" countries do similar acts exist, and in which do they not?

[Knyazev] The setting of contractual prices does indeed lead to these negative consequences, because these prices are set subjectively, rather than on the basis of market criteria. Adverse experience in the setting of such prices and the constant increase in them was acquired in Yugoslavia in the second half of the seventies in the conditions of the so-called contractual economy. Now this practice has been condemned, and is regarded as a form of monopolism and an attempt unlawfully to share out the market by means of agreements between producers and the trade sector. In the conditions of the switch to market relations in Yugoslavia, Hungary and Poland contractual prices are permitted only for goods that come under the system of free pricing in the light of supply and demand on the market and in the context of antimonopoly legislation. Contractual prices are banned in countries where a system of centralized state pricing of goods is in operation (they are completely banned in Albania, Cuba, and the DPRK and partially permitted solely for new types of output in the other countries).

[Reader] Vladimir Kovalskiy from Kiev here. Valeriy Leonidovich, in the light of the new assessment of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact, is Poland raising the question of the return of the eastern territories? And is there a possibility of Silesia's joining Germany in the context of unification, is it realistic to put it that way?

[Musatov] I have heard no statements of that kind, still less official statements, in the context of the assessment of the Molotov-Ribbentrop pact. Furthermore, government representatives stated recently that the question of the "eastern" borders does not exist for Poland. I know that clubs of "friends of Wilno [Vilnius], Lwow [Lvov], and other cities" and various fellowships exist in Poland, and that meetings are held and tourist trips organized. As for Silesia and the western territories, there is indeed concern in Poland. The FRG's official position on the question of Poland's western borders is not entirely clear, and only recently Kohl changed his views under

the influence of criticism, including ours, although this still does not amount to a final recognition of the immutability of borders.

[I.V. Abramov, Arkhangelsk] Does the Warsaw Pact exist now? And what is its future?

[Dementyev] Of course the Warsaw Pact exists. All the Warsaw Pact states have confirmed that they remain members of the organization even after the transformations that are taking place in the East European countries. Our cooperation within the Warsaw Pact is thus continuing.

The Warsaw Pact's future will depend on the processes in Europe and the existence of NATO. Probably the two blocs will be gradually transformed from military-political to political-military or political organizations. Our position of principle on this question is well known—the Soviet side is prepared for any transformation of the Warsaw Pact up to and including disbandment, but naturally, this must be simultaneous with the disbandment of NATO.

[N.I. Lebedev, Moscow] Why have our former allies in the anti-Hitler coalition forgotten that the USSR, as victor, also has some rights with regard to Germany? And why did they force us, by way of an ultimatum, to start withdrawing troops from Eastern Europe, while the occupying troops of our three allies remain on FRG territory?

[Dementyev] I would begin my reply with the second part of your question. None of the allies in the anti-Hitler coalition forced us to withdraw troops from Eastern Europe.

First, two years ago we unilaterally adopted a decision to reduce our armed forces by 500,000 men, including a 50,000 reduction in the strength of our garrisons in the Warsaw Pact states. And recently intergovernmental agreements were signed with Hungary and Czechoslovakia on the total withdrawal of Soviet troops from their territory within an agreed time frame.

As for the troops of the three powers in the FRG and Soviet troops in the GDR, they are there on a fundamentally different basis, and our former allies in the coalition cannot, of course, decide the question of the unilateral withdrawal of our troops from the GDR.

[Yu.A. Bogomazov, Moscow] Is there a shadow economy in the East European countries?

[Knyazev] A shadow economy exists on various scales and in various forms in virtually all countries, including the states of Eastern Europe. If what you mean by a shadow economy is "underground" economic activity, it is more developed in those countries where, in the conditions of the administrative edict system of management, the state sector fails to ensure the satisfaction of many of the population's urgent needs, while at the same time banning private or other independent enterprise. In these conditions the only way to combat the shadow economy is to legalize it and allow citizens and cooperatives to engage openly in independent activity in crafts, the service sphere, public catering, and construction. The GDR can be regarded as an example of a successful struggle against the shadow economy even in the conditions of an administrative system. A condition of normal operation of the "small economy" is its incorporation into the state system of material and technical supply and a sensible tax policy. In countries with a developing market system of economic management (Hungary, Poland, Yugoslavia) the shadow economy is losing the objective need to exist.

[Reader] Vasily Vasilyevich Makarov here. Valeriy Leonidovich, what about Poland? I read in the newspapers that things are not bad there now....

[Musatov] You know, I was there at the beginning of March. Warsaw is a peaceful city. There are many goods in the stores, but prices are very high, and overstocking has even begun to occur. For instance, a room in the department store was full of our "Vyatka" automatic machines, but the price was 1,800,000 [currency not specified]! The govenrment is combating inflation, but it is a difficult path. The population, the working people, can no longer afford certain goods. As a result of a rigorous economic operation it has been possible to stabilize the zloty in relation to the dollar, but many difficulties still lie ahead. What worries the working people, and the government too, is the emergence of unemployment, because many enterprises are proving unprofitable. They will sooner or later have to close or change. There are already approximately 200,000 unemployed, and many people are living on allowances. The trade unions support the government's course of extracting the country from the national crisis, although they demand the strengthening of social guarantees. In general Mazowiecki's government enjoys support. The population pins great hopes on it, especially as regards future improvements in living standards.

[L.N. Korolkova, Vologda] How did Romania manage to pay off its foreign debt? And how can that be a bad thing?

[Knyazev] The decision to eliminate the foreign debt by 1990 was adopted in Romania in 1982. In April 1989 the total repayment of the foreign debt was announced. In all, from 1975 through 1989, payments to extinguish the debt totaled $21 billion, of which $7 billion was interest. Because of the lack of free financial resources, the only way for Romania to pay its debts was drastically to restrict imports (in 1988 the volume of imports was 28.4 percent below the 1980 level) and step up exports to creditor countries (twice the plan level in 1981-1985, and 75 percent above plan level in 1986-1989). Import restrictions did irreparable damage to the development of the national economy, many sectors of which cut production and were unable to replace equipment. According to some estimates, at present 70 percent of industry's fixed capital needs modernizing, which requires $130 billion. Exports took place at all costs, at

giveaway prices. In the main they exported goods that were badly needed for domestic consumption (petroleum products, chemical goods, electricity, food products). This had an adverse effect on the work of many enterprises and led to an energy crisis in the country and the introduction of food rationing. The policy of accelerated elimination of the debt at the working people's expense did not yield positive results, but brought the country to the brink of economic disaster.

[N.I. Sorokin and T.P. Kozlov, both from Moscow, and other readers] Does a socialist camp now exist? Fidel Castro has already spoken of the collapse of the socialist system in Eastern Europe, so why are we saying nothing about this?

[Musatov] I think the expression "the socialist camp" was associated with a certain obsolete ideological stereotype which reflected the atmosphere of confrontation, based on strength, between the two military blocs and the mood of the cold war times. This concept has long since been dropped from our political lexicon. The term "socialist community" is more recent in origin and more flexible, but also has ideologized overtones indicating the proximity of the ruling communist parties' positions. In view of the changes taking place in the countries of central and southeast Europe and the fact that in some places the adjective "socialist" has been eliminated from official titles, it is argued that it would be more correct to use the term "allied states," since we and our East European neighbors were and are members of the Warsaw Pact Organization.

West Europe

Former NATO Head on Worries Over German Unity

PM2604150190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Apr 90 Second Edition p 5

[M. Sergeyev report: "J. Luns' 'Personal Opinion'"]

[Text] Former NATO Secretary General Joseph Luns, who is still a notable figure on the world arena today, has broken the rules of the diplomatic game. One of these rules has long affirmed that "language is given to diplomats so that they can hide their thoughts better."

By all accounts, this is exactly what guides many Western diplomats (and not only diplomats) with respect to the process of German unification, which has proved all predictions wrong.

Most of the utterances made on this subject today in Washington, Rome, Vienna, Paris, London, and Madrid cautiously skirt around the controversial points of this complex problem. The 79-year-old Luns, who is not bound by the conventions of an official position, decided to reject diplomatic wordplay. Speaking yesterday on "Studio-9," a popular political program on our television, this politician who has seen so much and who was at the center of NATO policy for many years said aloud what many people in the West certainly think (although they do not dare to say so). "Let us be frank," Luns stated. "From my point of view, none of Germany's neighbors can react with great joy to what is now going on there. I understand that the West German leaders will not start a policy of aggression straightaway. But what will happen in the future, when a generation of Germans who do not know the war and who will be living in the largest and most economically powerful European country has grown up? This causes quite definite concern and uncertainty in neighboring countries, which cannot be ignored."

It stands to reason that what J. Luns said does not embrace all the aspects of this very complex problem. But one thing is certain—the process of German unification is not so straightforward and simple as Western capitals often try to make out. It is no accident that the latest broadcast of "Studio-9" attracted a great deal of attention.

Envoy to UK Speaks to European-Atlantic Group

LD2604231190 Moscow TASS in English 2251 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] London April 27 TASS—By TASS correspondent Dmitriy Voskoboinikov:

Participants in a regular meeting of the European-Atlantic Group, an influential organisation comprising members of both chambers of the British Parliament, industrialists, businessmen, economists and journalists, heard with great attention the speech by Leonid Zamyatin, Soviet ambassador to Britain, who was invited to the meeting as a honorary guest.

At the meeting, which was held in the building of the British Parliament on Thursday, Zamyatin set out the USSR's viewpoints on current changes in Europe and dwelt in detail on German unification and the development of the Helsinki process.

Zamyatin then answered questions by those present.

Supreme Soviet's Dzasokhov on Visit to France

PM2704101190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Apr 90 Morning Edition p5

[Interview with A.S. Dzasokhov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee, by own correspondent Yu. Kovalenko in Paris under the rubric "Parliamentary Contacts": "Learn Political Sophistication"—date unspecified; first paragraph is introduction]

[Text] A delegation of the USSR Supreme Soviet International Affairs Committee led by its chairman, A.S. Dzasokhov, has completed a visit to France. Your IZVESTIYA correspondent in Paris asked him to sum up the results of the visit.

"Our meetings," A.S. Dzasokhov said, "reaffirmed the desire of Soviet and French parliamentarians to develop

bilateral ties. Of course, these ties have a long history, more than 35 years, but, without diminishing their importance, I would like to say that in the past they have often been nothing more than formal protocol. We believe that these relations must keep pace with the turbulent political processes now taking place. We can see how even the small pause in our ties caused by elections in France and the Soviet Union has led to a whole series of questions arising: Both we and our French partners have a vested interest in clearing up these issues. We must now make our parliamentary ties more specific and productive.

"Our French colleagues are convinced that we now have a qualitatively new Supreme Soviet which, unlike the old one, is directly involved in making political decisions, including decisions on international matters. But it goes without saying that to do this we must have the fullest information possible—first-hand information, as they say. That was the purpose of our talks in Paris, which lasted many hours. We were 'hunting for the truth' in the form of a free discussion on a broad range of topical issues: the Helsinki process in the broad interpretation of the European community from the Atlantic to the Urals, German affairs, progress in the disarmament sphere, the situation in the Mediterranean, and the potential for collaboration between the Soviet Union and France in the solution of regional conflicts."

[Kovalenko] What experience of French parliamentary practice, which has more than 200 years of history, could we use in the Supreme Soviet?

[Dzasokhov] We were interested to learn from L. Fabius, for example, that the French parliament is now faced with the need to clarify its prerogatives. On the one hand this is connected with the fact that the role of local government bodies is growing. On the other, with stronger integration processes, some powers are being transferred to supranational structures, including the European Parliament. In addition to this, the National Assembly has to correlate its actions with France's international commitments. In our view, this has something in common with the discussions being held in the Supreme Soviet.

I would like to mention another idea voiced by our interlocutors, namely: International contacts must not overshadow parliamentarians' main task, which is primarily to concern themselves with internal problems.

"As far as exclusively French experience is concerned," A.S. Dzasokhov stressed in conclusion, "I think we should learn political sophistication from these parliamentarians. We witnessed how representatives of various parties were able to conduct pointed discussions without ever losing sight of the main objective: to find the optimum solution to the problem facing them. They may not agree with their political opponent but they respect his point of view and respect him as an opponent."

Bakatin Holds Talks With Italian Counterpart

LD2404211590 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 24 Apr 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast: correspondent Vybornov video report from Italy]

[Text] Organized crime does not recognise borders. Its activity increasingly is acquiring the form of international cooperation, so countermeasures are required. It is precisely in this light that the visit to Italy by USSR Minister of Internal Affairs Bakatin and his talks with his Italian colleague Gava, and with the leadership of the local police should be regarded. When the talks ended, Comrade Bakatin replied thus to a question at a press conference on the purposes of his visit to the Appenine peninsula:

[Begin Bakatin recording] The necessity for cooperation, the necessity for such close contacts will grow more and more, and it is already a secondary aspect of that policy, that policy that is being carried out by the leaders of our states. [end recording]

Vadim Viktorovich Bakatin and Antonio Gava signed a memorandum of intent which provides for cooperation of the two sides. A joint coordinating committee will be set up and the exchange of information and experience will be expanded. Special measures will be adopted to put an end to the drug business and to the laundering of the drug dollars it earns.

Delegation Departs for San Marino CP Congress

LD2604220190 Moscow TASS in English 1651 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—A Soviet Communist Party [CP] delegation, including CPSU Central Committee First Deputy Department head V. Mikhailov and International Department Executive L. Popov, left for San Marino today at the invitation of the San Marino Communist Party leadership. It will take part in the party's 12th congress.

CPSU Greetings to Congress Published

PM2704130790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Apr 90 Second Edition p 1

[CPSU Central Committee undated greetings message: "To the 12th San Marino Communist Party Congress"]

[Text] We send cordial greetings to delegates to the 12th San Marino Communist Party Congress.

You can be sure of the CPSU's readiness to continue developing relations between our parties in the interests of strengthening peace worldwide and asserting humane socialist values.

We wish you, dear comrades, successes in the struggle for your people's happiness and prosperity.

The CPSU Central Committee

Gorbachev Sends Message to Austria's Waldheim

LD2604092490 Moscow TASS in English 0904 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev has congratulated Austrian Federal President Kurt Waldheim and the Austrian people on the 45th anniversary of Austria's liberation from German fascism and the restoration of the Austrian Republic.

The message expresses hope that the friendly relations between the two states will continue to develop and strengthen in the interests of the Soviet and Austrian peoples and promoting security in Europe.

Bakatin Signs Cooperation Agreement in Cyprus

LD2504212790 Moscow TASS in English 1945 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Nicosia April 25 TASS—Soviet Interior Minister Vadim Bakatin and his Cypriot counterpart Khristodoulos Veniamin today signed an agreement on the two countries' cooperation in combatting crime.

Veniamin said at the signatory ceremony that the document had been the result of ties in this specific field between Cyprus and the USSR. "The agreement signed will be a meaningful supplement to the already existing accords, on which Soviet-Cypriot cooperation is built and develops," he said.

Bakatin noted, in part, that the agreement turned a new page in relations between the two countries and signalled the bolstering of cooperation between their law enforcement agencies.

Bakatin and the persons accompanying him were received today by Vassos Lyssarides, acting president of the Republic of Cyprus and president of the House of Representatives. He told the Soviet guests about the state and prospects for settling the Cyprus problem and spoke highly of the Soviet Union's firm and consistent stance on this issue.

On the same day, Bakatin and the persons accompanying him visited the main headquarters of the Cypriot police and familiarised themselves with the work of the republic's law enforcement agencies.

The Soviet delegation laid a wreath at the monument to Archbishop Makarios, the first president of the independent Republic of Cyprus.

Bakatin Continues Cyprus Visit

LD2604223190 Moscow TASS in English 1948 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Nicosia April 26 TASS—Soviet Interior Minister Vadim Bakatin continues his official visit to the Republic of Cyprus. Today, Bakatin and the persons accompanying him went on a tour of the country. They visited the cities of Paphos, Limassol and Larnaca, toured historic and cultural sights, and met municipal authorities.

During the meetings the sides exchanged information about state management. The guests from the USSR visited police agencies and familiarised themselves with the work of Cypriot local law enforcement bodies.

On Wednesday, Cypriot Interior Minister Khristodoulos Veniamin gave a reception in honour of Bakatin. House of Representatives President Vassos Lyssarides, leaders of Cyprus political parties, representatives of the Cypriot public and heads of diplomatic missions accredited in Cyprus were present at the reception.

Commentary Views New Greek Government's Program

NC2604203690 Moscow in Greek to Cyprus 1630 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Spartak Alekseyev commentary]

[Text] REUTER has filed a report from Athens entitled "Greece Enters a New Period of Conservative Policy." Obviously, this evaluation contains a good deal of truth, but personally I would prefer not to make such categorical, even though limited assessments. Present-day life presents conservative, social democratic, and communist politicians with such complex, interrelated, and rapidly evolving problems that no formula can be used in their solution.

We believe that in both the socio-economic and the military-foreign policy fields, the current New Democracy government will have to seek modern solutions that bear in mind current and future realities in Greece and abroad rather than refer to past expericence. One of these realities is that the New Democracy government, now that it has come to power, should suppress its aspirations for one-party rule and serve, as it has said it would, the interests of all Greeks. Another serious political reality is that the government, which has only a one-seat majority in the Chamber of Deputies, must bear in mind the strong opposition offered by the Panhellenic Socialist Movement and the Coalition of the Left and Progressive Forces because it is unlikely that the government will be able to cancel with a single gesture all aspects of the policy of its predecessor for the last eight years or be able to turn back the clock, as REUTER puts it.

Although the new government's first policy statement was designed to inspire the nation, nevertheless it painted a bleak picture of the miserable situation of the Greek economy and presented equally gloomy prospects in the economic sector for the average Greek. Suffice it to say that the public deficits about which Mitsotakis spoke will be reduced through significant cuts in state expenditure. The announced cutbacks in cars for civil servants is only a drop in the bucket. In essence, savings will be achieved at the expense of social programs. The very people who will be deprived of a large part of their

social protection are those who will be forced to pay for this, as they have paid for the results of Greece's accession to the EEC with thousands of new unemployed. With this prospect in view, it is not difficult for one to predict the further exacerbation of social tension, another serious reality within which the new Greek Government will have to function.

The new government's program contains one more point that touches on a sensitive national chord. This concerns the problem of the U.S. military bases. It is doubtful whether the New Democracy government's intention to renew the agreement on the bases with the United States under the current circumstances, in which the whole trend of pan-European developments is aimed at ridding Europe of both foreign military bases and opposing military blocs, will draw loud applause even from those voters who cast their ballots for New Democracy. This is also a reality which raises a problem that cannot be solved with the help of the old conservative formula.

The prime minister stated that the new government will build its foreign policy on the principle of safeguarding Greece's independence and security and identified the fate of Greece with the fate of Europe. Under current circumstances this means that Greece has tied its fate to that of Europe from the Atlantic to the Urals; that is, to that Europe which is outlined by the visible realities of the Helsinki Accords. Mitsotakis' statement that his government seeks to improve Greece's friendly relations with the USSR and all East European countries and applauds recent changes in that part of the continent convinces us of this.

For its part, the Soviet Union seeks to develop similar relations with Greece both because of the traditional ties between the two countries and in accordance with the Soviet Union's concept of new political thinking which has been promoted within the framework of perestroyka.

KGB Border Chief Concludes Visit to Finland

LD2604225990 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1202 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Helsinki, 26 Apr (TASS)—Lieutenant-General I.YA. Kalinichenko, head of the USSR KGB border troops, completed a four-day visit to Finland at the invitation of Lieutenant-General Matti Autio, the head of that country's border troops.

The Soviet visitor was received by Finnish President Mauno Koivisto. During the conversation, which was held in a warm and friendly atmosphere, it was stressed that the Soviet-Finnish border is a border between countries whose foreign policies are based on principles of friendship and good-neighborliness, and it was noted that perestroyka in the Soviet Union is facilitating the expansion of contacts between the citizens of both countries and the improvement of mutual understanding.

Lt-Gen I.Ya. Kalinichenko also met Finnish Interior Minister Jarmo Rantanen and visited a border troops' school and subunits of border troops and helicopter forces, where he familiarized himself with the organization of their service.

Natural Gas Deposit To Be Exploited With Norway

LD2604090390 Moscow TASS in English 0828 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—The world's largest natural gas deposit, estimated at 4,000 billion cubic meters, is in the Soviet sector of the Barents Sea. It will be developed jointly by the USSR and Norway in accordance with an agreement reached with the Norwegian corporation Norsk Hydro.

A group of Norwegian specialists will get down to work in the area of the Shtokmanovskoye deposit, discovered two years ago, to ensure its commercial development by the end of next year.

This is the first large-scale contract between the two neighboring countries. Finnish and Dutch firms plan to contribute to the development of the Barents Sea gas deposit.

The Shtokmanovskoye deposit is four times as large as the Trol gas and oil field in the Norwegian part of the North Sea, considered the largest until recently.

Norway Says Sunken Submarine Should be Left

LD2604105390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0930 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] The Soviet nuclear submarine Komsomolets which sank in the Norwegian Sea last year will not become a source of radioactive contamination. From the point of view of safety, the most correct decision would be to leave the submarine where it is, on the bottom of the sea, regularly monitoring the condition of the environment in the region where it is situated. This is the conclusion to be found in a report compiled by a group of Norwegian experts.

Latin America & Caribbean

Nicaraguan President Receives Soviet Delegation

LD2704081790 Moscow TASS in English 0727 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Managua April 27 TASS—A Soviet delegation now in Managua to attend the inauguration of President Violeta Barrios de Chamorro met her on Thursday and conveyed a message from Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

The talks passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere. The Soviet side emphasised that the democratisation process in Nicaragua is having a positive effect on the situation in Central America. It pointed out the Soviet Union's policy towards a peaceful political settlement in the

region. The Soviet side favours the development of Soviet-Nicaraguan relations in all spheres on a mutually-beneficial basis.

Chamorro said she shared the position of Soviet leadership on contemporary trends of world development in many areas. She stressed her government's intention to exert all efforts to establish a durable peace in the country by demobilising the contras and demilitarising Nicaragua.

The president emphasised that the Nicaraguan leadership was interested in cooperating with all countries and expressed hope that Soviet-Nicaraguan relations would be given a new impulse in the interests of the people of the two countries.

'Cooperation' With Nicaragua To Continue

PM2604142590 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 22 Apr 90 Second Edition p 5

[Interview with V.G. Komplektov, USSR deputy foreign minister, by P. Bogomolov under the rubric "'Dialogue's' Guest" carried as part of "Dialogue" feature: "Not the Beginning, But a Continuation"—first paragraph is introduction; place and date of interview not given]

[Text] "Why must we continue to assist the Nicaraguans if the Sandinist National Liberation Front, to which we have been linked by stable ties of solidarity since its struggle to overcome Somoza's tyranny, is forming the opposition...?" PRAVDA readers are asking such questions in their letters. The editorial office asked V.G. Komplektov, USSR deputy foreign minister, who returned a few days ago from Managua, where he was received by current head of state Daniel Ortega and President-elect Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, to share his opinions on this range of problems.

[Komplektov] In the conversations I had with V. Chamorro and other representatives of the new Nicaraguan leadership the topic of the further development of cooperation between our two countries was mentioned repeatedly. Our country, as is known, even before the elections in Nicaragua stated that we would fully respect the results, hence Moscow's willingness from the outset to continue Soviet-Nicaraguan relations. Our new partners in Managua were unequivocal on this score—they confirm their interest in deepening bilateral ties....

[Bogomolov] Even though we will not be bound to the new republic's government by either spiritual proximity or traditions of close cooperation in the international arena?

[Komplektov] Don't you see, the tradition of our cooperation with Nicaragua, in my view, will by no means stop when the Sandinistas form the opposition. It should not be forgotten that for the past 10 years we have been helping first and foremost that country and its people, and the particular forces at the forefront of Nicaraguan political life were only of secondary importance.

Incidentally, V. Chamorro's quite specific statements on this topic also indirectly serve to expose the conjectures, which are still to be found in the pages of certain foreign publications, to the effect that the Nicaraguans know about the Soviet Union only from our combat equipment which has been delivered to the republic over a number of years. On the contrary, they talk far more frequently about our doctors and geologists, about tractors and textile equipment—exclusively peaceful things, you see. And the Nicaraguan people, longing for peace and quiet and given a real opportunity to implement their sovereign choice by the revolutionary government, are giving other political forces a certain chance. We, some people think, must now reject them, that is, virtually punish them. But punish them for what?

[Bogomolov] But the U.S. blockade of Nicaragua has already been lifted, and the granting of U.S. aid worth many millions to the new government is not far off. Does this not mean that the forms of aid most burdensome to our economy can be reviewed and amended?

[Komplektov] Of course, especially as we ourselves could use some of the Soviet goods exported to Nicaragua. But, I repeat, this in no ways casts doubt on the prospects for bilateral cooperation as such. Precisely mutually advantageous cooperation, as in due course it must become in the full sense of these words, and not one-sided aid. Take, for instance, at least the export potential of tropical agriculture or, for instance, the broad opportunities for joint (possibly with the participation of third countries) processing of nonferrous metals in Nicaragua.

[Bogomolov] And, finally, a last question. Don't the largely new and fresh approaches to these problems mean that the previous decade of our assistance to Nicaragua has been wasted?

[Komplektov] Not at all. The first gains of the Nicaraguan revolution were consolidated and defended with our assistance. During this decade the Nicaraguans have become a completely different people, imbued with a sense of their own worth. Taking into account the road we have traveled, we intend to build relations with Nicaragua not on a "clean sheet of paper" but in the spirit of the traditions of friendship which have taken shape.

Cuban Economic, Trade Balance Problems Viewed

WA2604191290 Moscow LITERATURNAYA GAZETA in Russian No. 16, 18 Apr 90 p 14

[Article by Igor Ivanov: "An Island in a Sea of Problems"]

[Text] When the black caterpillar of the conveyor belt comes to life, commotion begins in the arrival hall of the Havana Jose Marti Airport. Tourists who have arrived

on a regular flight from Moscow are in a hurry to grab their luggage and form a line to the customs inspector. Before doing so, those who have been around carefully examine their luggage which has gone through an X-ray machine somewhere behind the wall. They know: If a red pencil mark has been made on the box the inspection will be long.

The customs officer is politely steadfast: "What do you have there? Onions or garlic? Would you please open it?"

The owner of the box tries to save his stock of vitamins: "So what? We are only bringing some for ourselves. After all, you cannot buy them anywhere." (Since 1986, there have been no farmer's markets in Cuba, and the state sector even in the blessed tropics has been unable to meet the needs of the populace for vegetables, fruit, and meat).

"That's it exactly! We ran out of onions even before the New Year because the Soviet Union refused to furnish them to us!" snaps back an elderly inspector.

Woe from onions! Are such trifles worth writing about? They are, because as recently as several years ago the dozens of our fellow countrymen who bring precious contraband onions to Cuba from across the Atlantic would have been inconceivable, as well as such a retort by the customs inspector, which betrays thinly veiled hostility, or the steadfastness of our foreign trade organizations which almost for the first time resolutely insist on complying with the provisions of contracts. If a barter transaction called for delivering Soviet onions in exchange for Cuban potatoes and the latter were unsuitable for table use due to nitrates the onions would not be forthcoming.

Changes for the Worse

Equal and mutually responsible partnership in our relations with Cuba has so far been an exception to the rule. However, a revision of obsolete rules, even if partial, is unavoidable. The renewed Soviet economy meshes increasingly worse with the Cuban economy. Our perestroyka will definitely create additional difficulties for the operation of the established—if poor—economic mechanism of Cuba.

To date, the economists have only been required to calculate prices for Cuban goods at which the trade balance would artificially break even. If the numbers were obstinate and did not fit, credits were allocated (in this five-year plan—R4.5 billion to keep the trade balanced, and another R2.5 billion for rendering technical assistance). The continuously growing needs of the Cuban economy have been met unquestioningly, frequently contrary to common sense and economic feasibility.

Cuba is proud of its health care and the education system. There are no beggars and hungry people on the island—this is an accomplishment in Central America. Yet, Cuba has been unable to make "a great leap" from a backward agricultural to an industrial-agrarian country despite the generous, even if sometimes confused, aid of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries. The economic miracle did not happen. It could not happen with mentors like this. As a result, the island is still dependent on the Soviet Union for the deliveries of oil, fertilizer, grain, rolled ferrous and non-ferrous metals, machinery, and household appliances. Sugar remains the main export product of Cuba. It is known what its value is: As little as five years ago, re-exports of Soviet oil generated more hard currency for the country than the sale of its sugar in the world market, which Fidel Castro recently referred to as "the international trash dump." Even sugar is not necessarily plentiful. Cuba has had to buy sugar on credit from other countries in order to meet its obligations for deliveries to the USSR (they account for one-third of our needs). This has gone into millions of tons by now which will have to be paid back in either product or money.

The Cuban economy resembles someone crippled from childhood who is doomed to move about using the crutches of foreign aid. Revolutionary industrialization in an underdeveloped semi-colony of the United States in the environment of an economic blockade by the former parent state and a permanent military threat could not have led to anything else. By now, one crutch, the credits of Western countries, has been lost. In the course of developing its ambitious plans (the level of equipment in Cuban hospitals may make us jealous), Cuba has piled up about $7 billion in debts and has not been paying interest for several years now. The hope to resume payments is slim given low prices for oil and sugar. Should they look for new creditors and new markets? However, the debts which hang like a millstone around Cuba's neck, will not let it go too far. Besides, what does it have to offer for sale? Obviously, the same sugar, nickel, and tobacco which Cuba swaps for Hungarian buses, Bulgarian forklifts, Polish cars, and spare auto parts from Czechoslovakia. However, erstwhile friends and trade partners from Eastern Europe are demanding one by one that conditions for cooperation be reconsidered by canceling allowances for "internationalism."

The prophetic words of the commandante about changes in Eastern Europe boding ill for Cuba in the economic sense are coming true. Recently, F. Castro stressed that for now only relations with the USSR have not suffered because of these processes. He said: "I must say in all honesty that recently the USSR has expressed and continues to express its maximum aspiration... to continue trade exchanges between us along the same or similar lines. The problems which we are beginning to experience are mainly the result of difficulties which the Soviet Union itself is facing."

Nonetheless, the cautious optimism expressed by the leadership of the country with regard to the development of Soviet-Cuban cooperation did not prevent announcing cutbacks in the programs of studying the Russian language on the island as a non-promising

language. Through the efforts of the Cuban press, the Soviet side's first violation of the tradition to supply flour and grain ahead of schedule has acquired the dimensions of a national crisis. They say that the people had to be prepared for difficulties.

"A Special Period"

Tankers deliver 12 million tons of oil to the island annually. What will happen if the oil river runs shallow or dries up temporarily? "A special period." This is how they refer here to the strategy of survival in the environment of a harsh external blockade. The first such experiment was carried out in Havana in March. For an entire day, all the enterprises of the city—800,000 people—operated under a regime of extreme austerity, creating artificial difficulties for themselves and learning how to overcome them. Experiments with switching over to a wartime footing in the economy will be continued.

The leadership of the country categorically denies that an economic crisis is possible in Cuba. However, unexpected delays of several ships carrying flour and grain have already forced a reduction in the bread rations issued through ration cards; eggs have become more expensive. Recently, they have had to water down milk twice thus unwittingly reducing its fat content. Meat deliveries have been disrupted even to a privileged shop for the diplomatic corps. The signs of an approaching crisis are obvious. The question is: What is its scale going to be and how is it to be counteracted?

Since 1986, Cuba has proclaimed a policy of "rectification," that is, correcting the mistakes made. Over there, they consider experiments with the introduction of a market economy and economic management arrangements to be incorrect and harmful. Rigid centralized planning and tapping the revolutionary awareness of the masses are once again considered to be the only correct policy. All attempts to cure the socialist system with capitalist medicines are anathema. So-called "contingents" are portrayed as an ideal form of organizing productive labor. They are construction brigades consisting of volunteers who have switched to semi-military arrangements and work 10 to 12 hours a day in order to get out of the quagmire of unfinished construction and increase the productivity of the machinery allocated to them. The contingents did not influence the growth of productivity on the scale of the entire country; in recent years, it has been close to zero. However, in the environment of "a special period" the example of contingents may be applied extensively.

Cuba has also entered "a special period" in the international arena. Along with the United States, four East European states all at once supported in the UN Commission on Human Rights what they on the island believe to be an anti-Cuban resolution. The comandante has been warning with alarm that in the USSR as well there are people in parliament who would like to revise the system of fair trade with Cuba and thus join the boycott together with the Yankees.

The American occupation of Panama has become a dramatic blow. The loss is doubly painful: The Cubans used to purchase everything necessary, from electronic products to medicines, through Panama circumventing the bans of the United States. Elections in Nicaragua led to a tragedy of disappointment, obliterating 10 years of solidarity, joint efforts, self-sacrifice, and hopes. The words "the Sandinistas have lost but the revolution has won" are not much of a consolation. A trip by the Cuban minister of foreign affairs to Albania and negotiations with China on expanding trade only serve to underline how narrow the international environment friendly to Cuba has become.

Socialism or Death?

This slogan is followed by a resolute exclamation mark on countless posters plastered all over Havana. They drive in this exclamation mark straight as a nail. Ultimately, they slam it in down to its head with the traditional "Venceremos!"—"We shall win!" at rallies attended by thousands of people. There are no questions asked. Doubts do not become Cubans. They are the privilege of foreigners. Taking advantage of this privilege, I put a question mark after these words because personally I am increasingly alarmed by this alternative. As they were first to recognize in Cuba, in the environment of the world crisis of socialism this may become an alternative without a choice.

Everybody in Cuba prepares to defend the motherland, even children. In the pioneer palaces, the children cut ninja stars out of thick tin-plate during classes of the "all-people's war" study groups. The pioneers study the design of Vietnamese "wolf traps" and sharpen nails and make them jagged with files in order to fasten them to the stakes with which the walls and the bottom of the trap are going to bristle. They prepare to repulse aggression everywhere. The country has been divided into defense zones. Shooting ranges are an integral part of the landscape on the outskirts of every little town. Monthly "defense days" are a characteristic feature of the way of life. Exercises of militia detachments—"the territorial militia"—were even held at the Varadero resort. When restoring the thinning forests on mountain slopes, reforestation experts plant not only little pines but also the saplings of fruit trees—this is also a part of the concept of "an all-people's war" which calls for switching to guerrilla operations.

For many people, preparations for repulsing Yankee aggression have turned over the years into a ritual of sorts, into playing war. Stone-lined trenches built along the coastline with a lot of effort have been buried by sand. Couples, lovers, go to abandoned pillboxes on their dates. No people, and definitely not people as cheerful and enjoying life as much as the Cubans, could live for three decades in a state of constant tension, waiting for an invasion. However, in recent months the preparations, which to a detached observer appeared to be an unsound waste of time and money, have suddenly begun to make menacing sense.

A speech which Fidel Castro made at a ceremony to mourn and bury the remains of Cuban internationalists was called a policy-setting one. However, it resembles an oath still more: "...if history gives us the role of remaining at some point among the last defenders of socialism in the world in which the Yankee empire translates into reality Hitler's dream of conquering all peoples, we will defend this stronghold to the last drop of blood."

So, before our eyes the island is plunging into an atmosphere of feverishly built-up tension. Helicopters are dropping leaflets which appeal for attendance at rallies. The newspapers are carrying loud headlines: "100,000 Students Means 100,000 Soldiers." Torchlight processions of young people chanting: "He who does not jump up is a Yankee!" are under way (this is the kind of jokes they have at present). Meanwhile, every now and then the United States is stoking up the flames under the already boiling Cuban cauldron of passions, apparently on purpose. Shots fired at Cuban border guards from the territory of the American base in Guantanamo, the Panamanian episode, the opposition of the Cuban crew of the motor ship Herman to a cutter of the United States Coast Guard which riddled the vessel with machine gun bullets for refusing to stop for an inspection, and finally, the beginning of experimental broadcasting to Cuba by the American station TV-Marti to which Chief of Staff of the armed forces of the country General U. Rosales del Toro promised to find an answer worthy of the name of Cuban national hero Jose Marti. How can this end? In a choice between socialism and death?

Supreme Soviet Session

Moscow TV Carries 26 Apr Supreme Soviet Session

Constitutional Supervisory Committee Discussed

LD2604164290

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1500 GMT on 26 April begins carrying a recording of the USSR Supreme Soviet session 26 April at the Kremlin in Moscow. The Supreme Soviet opens the day in a joint session with Anatoliy Lukyanov in the chair. He opens the proceedings with the reminder that Saturday, 28 April, is to be a working day to discuss the pension bill. However, since some deputies intend to leave Moscow that day, the Supreme Soviet will conduct its work in the morning.

Lukyanov brings up the agenda for today's session. Deputy Gryazin interjects to ask what is being done about Chernobyl. He calls for the setting-up of a commission to investigate this question.

Lukyanov says this is a serious question, but that it cannot be examined without the presence of representatives of the republics concerned.

Deputy (Piryazeva) from Kalinin interrupts to talk about the importance of allowing time for meetings with the electorate.

Deputy Sobchak speaks about the economic blockade against Lithuania and the further measures announced by Gorbachev and Ryzhkov, including the tightening rail blockade. He calls for a debate on this issue.

At 1510 GMT Lukyanov says the agenda has been settled. He takes another question from a deputy about the difficulty of working in Moscow and also in his home area. The deputy mentions the upcoming elections and says he cannot plan his work. Lukyanov says the work must be fitted into the time available.

Lukyanov goes on to talk about the formation of a committee to supervise the Constitution. He says the members of this committee have to be chosen. Each union republic will have a representative, and four members will represent autonomous republics. He says 23 candidates have been nominated. Information about the republics will be distributed to deputies. Some republics have not yet nominated candidates. Additional consultations on the choice were carried out yesterday. Some changes can now be made to the list of candidates. A Kazakh representative has withdrawn. There is also some doubt about a Latvian representative and about representatives from Udmurtia and Abkhazia. There needs to be further consultations about these people. Two republics, Lithuania and Estonia, have not yet nominated their representatives, Lukyanov says. Procedural discussions about the committee continue.

At 1520 GMT the floor is handed to Nikolay Engver from Udmurtia, who makes a point about the composition of the committee. Deputy Podziruk makes the point that there is not one single military man in the list of candidates, therefore servicemen are having their rights infringed. Lukyanov says that question can be examined later, but right now it is necessary to examine the candidates who have already been put forward. A delegate from Udmurtia questions Engver's right to represent the republic on the committee. Lukyanov says this candidacy has nothing to do with Udmurtia. Lukyanov reads out the list of three existing candidates. He offers to introduce each of the candidates and puts the list to a vote. The three are endorsed by a vote, as members of the Committee of Constitutional Supervision. They will be sworn in tomorrow. Engver's candidacy is then discussed. Deputy (Sasot) supports Engver as a member, praising his principled position.

A 1530 GMT Lukyanov lists the membership of the committee. He say Engver is eligible for election, not as a representative of the autonomous republics, but as a committee member. An unidentified deputy talks about Engver's qualifications and praises his abilities, saying he would make a good committee member.

Deputy Danilov from Udmurtia talks about the importance of the committee. He says he cannot support Engver personally. Another deputy from Udmurtia addresses the issue. Suntsov, a deputy from Udmurtia, continues the debate on Engver's candidacy. He says Engver is keen to be on a committee for its own sake. He adds that enthusiasm is not enough. He rejects Engver.

Momotova, from Belorussia, says she knows Engver and thinks he should be supported. Another deputy praises Engver's training and personality. He says Engver is already on the Youth Affairs Commission. Deputy Kucherenko from the Ukraine says Engver is a good man. Lukyanov explains the make-up of the committee again. He says the committee will have 27 members, including the chairman and deputy chairman, 15 members elected from union republics, four from autonomous republics and six ordinary committee members.

At 1542 GMT Alekseyev, the chairman of the Committee on Constitutional Supervision, takes the floor and talks about Engver, saying that it was his idea to put Engver forward as a candidate. He praises Engver.

At 1545 GMT Lukyanov puts Engver's candidacy to the vote and Engver is rejected. Voting figures are not given. Lukyanov says the Supreme Soviet will have the last word.

Lukyanov says that Alekseyev has asked to be released as a deputy, in view of his chairmanship of the Committee on Constitutional Supervision. He puts the question to a vote. Alekseyev's withdrawal is approved.

Union-Republic Relations Debated

LD2604173790

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian continues its recording of the USSR Supreme Soviet session 26 April at the Kremlin in Moscow.

At 1548 GMT Lukyanov announces the next topic for discussion: the draft law on the delineation of powers between the USSR and the component parts of the federation. Lukyanov uses the phrase "subjects [subyekty] of the federation." Deputy Oleynik, deputy chairman of the Soviet of Nationalities, spells out the relationship between the Union and the constituent parts of the federation. He urges that the draft law be passed, since a definite center is required.

At 1554 GMT Deputy Yudin from Magadan makes a point about the nature of an autonomous okrug and its relations with both the oblast and the republic. Deputy Belozertsev sets out to define the term "subjects of the federation," but other deputies disagree, and Lukyanov says that the matter should be referred to the appropriate commission.

A deputy from Kishinev makes a point about the wording of part of Article 8: Subject bodies hand over some of their powers voluntarily to the union in accordance with the union treaty.

Another deputy picks up the topic of whether powers are handed over voluntarily or not, and makes various detailed points relating to the wording of Articles 8 and 9. Another deputy suggests that, to save time, a vote could be taken immediately.

At 1604 GMT Another deputy says that controversy reigns over the nature of "autonomy." He supports Gorbachev's definition of the relationship between the union and its components.

Another deputy says that the union is a federal state, even though a republic may wish to establish closer relations with some other republics than with others.

At 1608 GMT A vote is taken on how to proceed with Article 1. It is decided that they will vote on Article 1—initially in its original form, without amendments, as handed down by the reconciliation commission. The article is carried by a majority; again, figures, are not given.

At 1611 GMT Moshnyaga, from Kishinev, insists that the word "voluntary" must feature in the text of Article 1. Lukyanov says that this amendment would be tantamount to altering the Constitution, and further work is called for.

Another deputy proposes that the word "principal" be inserted before "subjects" in Article 1.

Another deputy makes a point about autonomous formations. Lukyanov clarifies their status with reference to the Constitution and the guarantees that it provides. He asks whether the discussion should continue. He then moves on to a second amendment, tabled by Deputy Bronshteyn, which he reads out.

At 1618 GMT Another deputy attempts to spell out what he thinks Bronshteyn meant, but there is disagreement on his interpretation. Bronshteyn then clarifies the issue.

Deputy Sazonov and Kirillov add their comments. Kirillov says that republics should be called "subjects of the federation," not "subjects of the Union."

At 1623 GMT Lukyanov puts Bronshteyn's amendment to the vote. The result is unclear.

The proceedings move on to Article 2. Lukyanov reads out a new version, suggested by the reconciliation commission, about the procedures necessary to pave the way for secession. The new version is put to the vote. It is passed by a majority.

At 1626 GMT Lukyanov reads out Article 3, concerning how changes to republican borders are to be made.

Deputy Gadzhiyev says that all autonomous formations agree with this wording. He wants to pass on to another point, but Lukyanov stops him.

Deputies make other suggestions concerning the right of the Soviet of Nationalities to arbitrate in territorial disputes.

At 1631 GMT Deputy Lyudmila Arutyunyan talks about the difference in power between republics and autonomous formations, and the problems that arise from this. There is also the problem of what happens when two republics are in conflict, and they want the union to solve the problem. The union then has to impose its will on one of the parties.

Deputies Offer Proposals

LD2604183190

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian continues its recording of the USSR Supreme Soviet session 26 April at the Kremlin in Moscow.

At 1638 GMT Lukyanov calls for a vote on Article 3 of the law delimiting the powers of the union and its component parts. The article is approved. An amendment is then voted on. The amendment is over the question of whether there is a right of appeal to the Soviet of Nationalities in border disputes, by one party alone. The amendment is rejected.

Deputy Khadzhiyev, from Chechen-Ingush, says the USSR Supreme Soviet should decide on questions where borders were unjustly imposed during Stalin's time. At 1642 GMT Lukyanov raises Article 4 and asks whether it should be voted on. It is put to a vote as proposed by the commission. The article passes. Deputy Ubaydullayeva says Article 4 would be better worded if one passage were changed. She says it concerns employment policy. She

also reminds the deputies of the scientific and technological sphere and the way it affects the wording. Lukyanov summarizes Ubaydullayeva proposals and how they affect the draft. He says they are acceptable. Deputy Pupkevich comments on the proposals and how they affect labor resources. He suggests a new wording for the section dealing with union enterprises. Reshetnikov, secretary of the Committee on the Development of Industry, explains the committee's thinking on the matter. An interval is called.

At 1651 GMT after the interval, the session is chaired by Nishanov. The session continues to be a joint one of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. He calls for a vote on the amendment to Article 4 suggested by Deputy Ubaydullayeva. He asks the deputies to register. There is quorum in both chambers separately and combined. The new wording is put to the vote. The amendment is rejected. Nishanov asks if there are any other objectons or remarks.

A representative of the commission says further discussion of the article has taken place.

Deputy Tarazevich, from Belorussia, makes further suggestions to the wording, explaining the discussions which took place during the interval on the draft. He explains how the draft affects union factories and factories run by union republics. He says members of the Industry Commission object to certain points in the draft. The members were discussing the handling of social and cultural questions by the work forces of individual factories.

At 1708 GMT Deputy Shevchenko, from the Ukraine, is invited to speak by Nishanov. She objects to the Industry Commission's rewording of the passage. She insists that the wording of the original draft be kept. It affects the provision of kindergartens, schools, and general utilities. She proposes that the orginal wording should be kept, becauses it defends the interests of workers.

Deputy Piryazeva, from Novosibirsk, contributes to the debate on the economic independence of enterprises. She says it must be retained. All enterprises must be embraced by the article. She explains her proposal and its wording, which is proposed by the commission.

Deputy Prokushev of Bashkir says the draft as it stands affects the rights of enterprises. He proposes that the formula be softened and left as it was originally.

Deputy Fominykh, a member of the Industry Commission, says great economic independence will help the country get out of its present problems.

Deputy Pupkevich proposes a compromise variant. Although a worker, he supports the Industry Commission.

Deputy Stadnik of Moscow Oblast says there is no need for compromise. He says the republic should decide.

Deputy Sharipov speaks at a director. He says the proposal is unnecessary.

At 1718 GMT Deputy Piryazeva is given a final word. Deputy Khadzhiyev also makes a point, saying there is no need for argument. He suggests a better wording. Deputy Ubaydullayeva takes issue with Deputy Stadnik and says the question should be put to a vote.

The adviser of an unnamed expert is considered. He reads out a proposed wording of the first part of the article and makes proposals on the power of the collective and the disposition of labor resources. They concern the coordination of resources. He calls for a vote on the formula proposed by the Industry Commission.

At 1718 GMT Nishanov argues with a deputy. He calls on Kurtashin, the chairman of the Industry Commission, to speak. Kurtashin says enterprises cannot be allowed to get out of control. He says the commission's proposal should be voted on and accepted. This would give complete independence to state enterprises.

Deputy (Kurkutdinov) says the powers of enterprises are being discussed.

Article by Article Vote Continues

LD2604184690

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian continues its recording of the USSR Supreme Soviet session 26 April at the Kremlin in Moscow.

At 1721 GMT Deputy Yusupov makes a point about social questions. Nishanov summarizes the two proposals on the table. He puts the Industry Commission's proposal to a vote. The deputies register first. There is a quorom. Deputy Tatarchuk interjects to support the commission's proposal. A vote is taken on the proposal by Deputy Tatarchuk. The proposal is rejected by both chambers.

Deputy Sazonov makes a point. The second proposal is put to a vote. It is rejected by both chambers. Article 4 is therefore left as originally drafted. A coordination committee is asked to sort out the matter.

Discussion proceeds on Article 5. A vote is taken on the whole article. Article 5 is passed by both chambers. Amendments are then considered.

At 1733 GMT Deputy Yusupov proposes a new wording giving union republics the right to enter into negotiations with foreign states.

Deputy Gamkrelidze makes a point about the right of union republics to negotiate with foreign states and to enter international organizations. He is given three minutes to explain his amendment. He says all the republics should be sovereign within the USSR, not equal in George Orwell's sense of the word. Therefore, all union republics should join the United Nations as full members, not just a few as now. He says an application should be made for all the union republics to join the United Nations. He says this should be put to a vote.

Deputy Ismailov of Azerbaijan calls for the deletion of a paragraph.

At 1740 GMT Nishanov says that the question of republics' sovereignty and membership of international bodies should be discussed in committee first. He puts this idea to a vote. It is passed without a formal vote. Amendments by Yusupov and Ismailov, about the rights of union republics to enter into negotiations with foreign states and to open consulates, are already covered by Article 5, Nishanov says. Nishanov asks the authors of the amendments to withdraw them. A point is made by Deputy Tarazevich. Nishanov puts Yusupov's amendment to the vote. It is rejected. Ismailov's amendment is also put to the vote and is also rejected.

At 1746 GMT Nishanov starts discussion of Article 6 about the powers of the union. He puts it to a vote. It is passed by both chambers. Nishanov asks if there are any amendments. Deputy Mamedov says that all articles of this law should be made to harmonize with Article 1. He suggests a new wording for Article 6, affecting the status of autonomous republics, oblasts, and okrugs.

At 1750 GMT Lukyanov is back in the chair and asks Deputy Mamedov to explain his point more clearly. Lukyanov asks the chairman of the appropriate commission to speak on the matter. The question is handed back to the Committee on Legislation. Another deputy, Khadzhiyev, asks for the original wording to be retained. Lukyanov says this is a very important question because it involves the position and rights of small ethnic groups. Deputy Kisin makes a point about the need for a unified customs service, as part of the powers reserved to the union. This refers to Article 11. Lukyanov says this is taken care of already. Kisin says it needs to be spelled out at this point. Other deputies say the point is taken care of by the existing reference to the union's responsibility for state borders.

At 1757 GMT Deputy Ivashkov says the union republics need to have a certain amount of independence in the matter of customs. Lukyanov suggests the new wording which is needed to accept this point. Kisin's proposal is put to a vote. Kisin's amendment is passed.

An unnamed deputy protests at this point at the way Lukyanov is handling the debate, saying that he is intervening and commenting when he should not. Lukyanov says the point is a fair one.

At 1800 GMT Discussion of Article 7 starts. This deals with the powers of the USSR. It says that the union's powers cannot be enlarged without the consent of the component parts of the union. The article is put to a vote and passed.

Debate Continues

LD2604194390

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian continues its recording of the USSR Supreme Soviet session 26 April at the Kremlin in Moscow.

At 1801 GMT Lukyanov calls for a vote on Article 8 as put forward by the commission. The article is passed.

Deputy Khadzhiyev suggests amendments concerning the wording of Article 8. Some discussion between Khadzhiyev and Tarazevich ensues, with close reference to the text of the article. Lukyanov would like to move to a vote, but discussion of alternative amendments continues. Lukyanov spells out the implications of the two possible amendments on the introductory section of Article 8. He calls for a vote of Khadzhiyev's amendment. The amendment is rejected.

At 1812 GMT Lukyanov calls for a vote on the second proposed amendment, which is defeated in both chambers.

Deputy Ubaydullayeva returns to the possible inclusion of the word "employment" in paragraph six of Article 8. Lukyanov calls for a vote and the amendment is rejected.

At 1817 GMT, after an interval, Lukyanov calls on the reassembled deputies to register their presence. There is a quorum. He calls on deputies to reconsider Part 1 of Article 4, which still has a gap that needs to be filled.

Deputy Tarazevich clarifies the situation and reads out the text of the section, as put forward by the reconciliation commission. Lukyanov calls on deputies to reregister and then puts Part 1 of Article 4 to the vote. There are 375 deputies present. The commission's text is passed.

Moving on to Article 9, Lukyanov reads out a proposed amendment.

Deputy Medvedev proposes that the article be left as it was, without the amendment. Deputy Moshnyaga from Kishinev repeats this view. Another deputy distinguishes between the functions that can be performed by union republics and those that only the union can perform, such as the country's defense.

At 1832 GMT Deputy Kim from Omsk suggests that Article 10 could be left as it was and a new version of Article 9 drafted.

Deputy Sazonov, from Tatar ASSR, says that Article 9 must be in accord with Article 1. Deputy Alksnis suggests a vote on the article and warns of the danger of transforming the federation into a confederation. An Estonian deputy says that confederation-type relations would be no bad thing for the USSR of the future.

Deputy Moshnyaga talks about an amendment to Article 1 that failed to get through at the first discussion and the results now becoming apparent. Kostishin makes a brief comment.

At 1843 GMT Lukyanov puts Article 9, as proposed by the commission, to a vote. The article is approved. He then puts the amendment put forward by the Soyuz group of deputies to a vote. The amendment is defeated.

Moving on to Article 10, unamended, Lukyanov puts it straight to the vote. The article is approved.

At 1848 GMT a deputy moves an amendment to Article 10 which would strengthen the position of autonomous republics. He would like a vote by name so as to know which deputies are friends of autonomous republics and which are not.

Deputy Sazonov says that the main point is the demarcation of the powers of union republics and of the union as a whole. If some of the proposed amendments are accepted, they will be in conflict with the constitutions of the union republics.

At 1857 GMT Deputy Sobchak says that what is under discussion is the relations between all the different state entities in the country, not just between the union and the union republics. He also warns against the piecemeal processing of the draft laws, the implications of the various amendments to which only become apparent later and require revision.

Proposals, Amendments Discussed

LD2604214290

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1900 GMT on 26 April continues its recording of the USSR Supreme Soviet session 26 April at the Kremlin in Moscow.

Lukyanov hands the floor over to (?Skvortsov), who says that there are only 15 component parts of the Union or federation, namely the union republics, not the autonomous republics; these are the component parts of their parent union republic. Relations between union and autonomous republics need separate legislation, (?Skvoratsov) says.

At 1904 GMT Khadzhiyev makes a compromise proposal. He suggests a small amendment to Article 11, taking into account the interests of autonomous formations. He says the Soviet Constitution needs big changes and calls for a compromise.

At 1906 GMT Deputy Sharipov says the question of what the component parts of the union are was settled in Article 1, which has already been passed.

An unidentified deputy then says that the current bill, if passed, will contradict the Soviet Constitution and the Constitutions of the union republics. He says the new constitution must allow every people the right to determine their relationship to the Union. He predicts objections from the autonomous republics if the current bill is passed. He wants the draft checked from the legal point of view. He says the question cannot be settled until the Constitution is changed.

At 1911 GMT another unidentified deputy points out that the autonomous republics also have Constitutions and these are just as important. Lukyanov and other deputies argue the point.

At 1913 GMT a deputy presents the position of the Commission for Nationalities Policy. He says that the bill should be adopted.

Deputy Osipov then says that not enough is known about the work of the constitution drafting commission and the progress it has made. Therefore, representatives of autonomous republics do not know where they stand.

At 1917 GMT Lukyanov answers a question from Deputy Sharipov about the definition of the "subjects" or component parts of the union. He says that the word subjects covers autonomous republics, oblasts, okrugs, as well as union republics. He suggests a compromise wording on the position of autonomous republics, which are to be consulted on questions not covered by union law.

Article 10, with the Sobchak amendment, is then put to the vote: It is passed by both chambers.

At 1921 GMT Article 11 is brought up for discussion. A vote is taken on whether to put Article 11 to a vote: Article 11 is passed.

At 1923 GMT Deputy Yusupov complains about the last part of the article. He suggests an addition: He says that union legislation should be adhered to on a provisional bases in case in which republican legislation clashes with union legislation. Lukyanov calls for a vote on Yusupov's amendment. The amendment is rejected.

At 1926 GMT Article 12 is considered: Article 12 is passed by both chambers.

At 1928 GMT Article 13 is put to a vote in the form drafted by the commission: Article 13 is passed by both chambers. However, there is an amendment proposed by Mongo. He wants two words added, bringing in the concept of ministries and departments representing the central state. This would give autonomous formations the right to halt the activities of central ministries and departments on their territories, This is the only way to fight the dictatorial behavior of such ministries and departments, he says. Deputy Mirkasymov tries to make a point but fails. Another deputy supports Mongo. The commission's view is sought. A representative of the commission explains the situation.

At 1932 GMT Deputy Kisin makes a point about paragraph two. He says that the halting of a union activity on the territory of an autonomous formation could be very expensive and asks who is going to pay compensation for this. Lukyanov points out that autonomous okrugs do not have legislation with which the activities of union bodies could clash.

Law on Delimiting Union Powers Passed

LD2604220790

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1936 GMT on 26 April continues its recording of the USSR Supreme Soviet session 26 April at the Kremlin in Moscow.

A deputy comments on remarks by Deputies Tarazevich and Pivovarov. He says the Supreme Soviet is being misled. Lukyanov asks whether autonomous oblasts and okrugs have legislation. A deputy says that they do not. Lukyanov says there is no contradiction with the law on local self-administration; he says the matter is already taken care of by existing legislation.

At 1942 GMT Mongo's amendment is put to a vote; it is rejected. A deputy says that at the moment there is no way that illegal activities by the USSR Council of Ministers can be countermanded by local authorities. He suggests a new wording to bring the actions of the central government within the law, not just those of individual ministries. The amendment is withdrawn, after an explanation by the commission chairman.

At 1946 GMT Kisin's point about compensation is taken up again. The bill then as a whole, with all of its articles, is put to a vote: The bill is passed and becomes law.

Lukyanov proposes a decision on putting into effect the law on delimiting the powers of the union and its component parts. Deputy Grishchuk suggests changes to Points 5 and 6. Tarazevich comments on the suggestion; he says the Congress of People's Deputies will have the final say.

At 1951 GMT Deputy Fedorov objects to Point 2 in the resolution. He says Point 2 should be omitted from the resolution. He also suggests a change to Point 6. He says section three of the Soviet Constitution needs to be changed by the congress and this point needs to be made in the resolution. Deputy Danilov says he wants an extra point inserted, referring to the right of free choice of autonomous republics. Tarazevich then comments on the suggestions. Deputy Petropavlovskiy suggests a change to Point 6. He says that the need for constitutional changes should be specifically mentioned in the resolution.

At 1956 GMT Lukyanov proposes that the deputies consider the decision point by point. Point 1 has already been passed. A modification to Point 2 is mentioned. Points 5 and 6 can exchange places. He puts the draft decision and amendment to the vote. The draft decision is approved, although there is some doubt about exactly how many deputies are present.

At 2000 GMT Lukyanov says that there will be a joint session of the chambers tomorrow at 1000 Moscow time to discuss taxation, but a request has been received that the deputies should convene this weekend to debate the vital question of pensions. Sobchak says that consideration also needs to be given to the Lithuanian situation. Lukyanov says that Gorbachev and Ryzhkov are dealing with this matter, and he cannot speak for them.

At 2007 GMT Laptev says that there are still three articles in the draft law on the rights of citizens living outside their national area that need consideration. He calls on Deputy Pivovarov to report on the deliberations of the reconciliation commission on this question. Because the deputies of the Soviet of Nationalities have now departed, the Soviet of the Union is now in session on its own, and the deputies are asked to reregister.

At 2009 GMT Pivavarov starts his report on the commission's findings, with detailed reference to the text, paragraph by paragraph.

At 2012 GMT Laptev puts Article 7 to a vote: Article 7 is passed. Article 8 retains its original wording. Laptev puts it to the vote: Article 8 is approved. Article 10 has two proposed amendments concerning use of languages and national educational facilities. The article and amendments are put to the vote: Article 10 is approved. A vote then takes place on Section 3 as a whole. Section 3 of the draft law on the rights of citizens living outside their national areas is approved.

Laptev then puts the draft law as a whole to the vote: It is passed. Deputies then turn their attention to the draft decision implementing the law they have just approved. They vote on it, and it is approved.

At 2021 GMT Laptev then directs the deputies' attention to a point still remaining to be settled from their deliberations on the Law on Languages. The Soviet of Nationalities insisted that some of the powers of union republics should also be stated as belonging to autonomous republics, too. They vote on the amendment, and it is carried.

At 2025 GMT a female deputy calls for publication of the protocols of the reconciliation commission, so that deputies are fully aware of the drafts that are being put to them. Laptev agrees. He then reminds the deputies that they are to reconvene for a joint session of both chambers tomorrow at 1000 Moscow time or 0600 GMT. The recording concludes at 2025 GMT.

Supreme Soviet Constitutional Committee Discussed

LD2604114490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0800 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] The session of the USSR Supreme Soviet is continuing its work. We are going over to our correspondent in the Kremlin. Special correspondent Olga Vasilenko is at the microphone.

[Vasilenko] Good morning. Today's joint session began with Anatoliy Ivanovich Lukyanov's proposal to determine the procedure and opportunities for further work. The fact is that Saturday is a working day for all of us, and so it is for the deputies as well. For that reason, a joint session of the chambers is scheduled for Saturday, at which it is expected to complete discussion of the draft law on pension provisions for the citizens of our country. And since many telegrams have come in to the Supreme Soviet asking for this law to definitely be passed by 1 May, it has turned out that this has been scheduled for Saturday in order to get it passed by 1 May. But the way it has turned out is that a number of deputies have picked Saturday to leave for their constituencies to meet

their electors. Anatoliy Ivanovich [Lukyanov], taking advantage of the fact that the session will be broadcast on radio and television, appeals to the electors: Wait for your deputies. They are resolving in the Kremlin both our common problems and those of many individual electors. So let us wait for Saturday.

If you recall from yesterday, the issue of election of members of the Committee for Constitutional Supervision remained unresolved. They approached this today. In accordance with the constitution, there are 27 members of this committee. The chairman, Sergey Sergeyevich Alekseyev, was elected earlier at the congress, just as his deputy was elected, and, again in accordance with the Constitution, there are 15 representatives from the union republics on the committee, one from each, and four from all the autonomous republics together. Six members do not represent any formation, and Nikolay Nikolayevich Engver, who was nominated by Sergeyev Sergeyevich Alekseyev himself, is among these six. Today he gave his grounds.

We all know this person, this deputy, we often hear him, he is always principled, always convincing and always has well-argued speeches. But all the same, a polemic arose over this nomination, the result of which was that the nomination of Nikolay Nikolayevich did not succeed. There are another three vacancies on the committee; these are the places of (Sabargaliyev), from Kazakhstan, and this is because it is planned to bring in a similar republican committee in his republic; further, there is (Erdvin), his nomination did not gain endorsement, from Latvia. Then there is (Tarkila) from Abkhazia. He is not an academic lawyer, and it is first and foremost academic lawyers that are needed by the committee. So the three places are vacant for the time being; they will be worked on, but the remaining members of the committee were endorsed by a majority of votes.

If we return to the congress again, we will recall that Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev recommended also Nikolay Vasiliyevich Fedorov for membership of the committee. So that there should be no question about why he is not on the list, Anatoliy Ivanovich read out a note from Nikolay Vasiliyevich asking not to be included, since he has a very heavy workload and is quite happily working in the Committee on Legislation.

Another point connected with this: Sergey Sergeyevich Alekseyev has asked to be released, in accordance with the Constitution, from the deputies of people's deputy. This request was granted, and deputies then went on to confirmation of the draft law on delineation of powers between the USSR and the subjects of federation. Two readings of the draft law have passed, and today the deputies are voting on it article by article. The work is proceeding with some difficulty, but four articles have already been passed. We will have details of this in the 1300 (0900 GMT) edition of the news. There is a break at the session at the moment, and I am ending my report.

Committee To Be Sworn In

LD2704051990 Moscow TASS in English 0500 GMT 27 Apr 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent Andrey Orlov]

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—The Soviet political system will get a new crucial element, when the chairman and members of the new Soviet Constitutional Compliance Committee will be sworn in before noon today.

The committee, set up in December 1989 by the second Congress of Soviet People's Deputies, will monitor compliance of new legal acts adopted with the Soviet Constitution.

The committee can suspend laws inconsistent with the Soviet Constitution, except those passed by the Congress of Soviet People's Deputies, the Soviet Parliament or republican legislatures.

Acts declared unconstitutional will be submitted before the Congress of Soviet People's Deputies, which has the right to revoke them.

The second Congress of Soviet People's Deputies elected lawyer Sergey Alekseyev, former chairman of the Parliament's Legal Committee, chairman of the Committee on Constitutional Compliance.

Deputy Critcizes Lithuanian Blockade

LD2604132190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1030 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Excerpts] At the session of the USSR Supreme Soviet: Over to the All-Union Radio correspondents' post in the Kremlin; Ludmila Semina is at the microphone:

[Semina] We'll conduct this reportage from the Kremlin with Anatoliy Aleksandrovich Sobchak, a well-known deputy, a lawyer, and a Leningrader. [passage omitted] Anatoliy Aleksandrovich, over to you: What's your attitude to all of this?

[Sobchak] I want to say that two days remain before a break in the session's work. We have a multitude of unresolved problems. In particular, we did not have a day of questions to the government yesterday, and a great many such questions have accumulated. Among them, as the first and main questions, I would name the question of the economic blockade of Lithuania, and we must demand and receive full and exhaustive information from the government on this question. I think that if this information is not sufficiently convincing we must demand that the president should give an account, before the Supreme Soviet, of his actions regarding Lithuania, because this is now beginning to affect entire regions and the country as a whole, because in establishing an economic blockade of the republic, we are hitting other regions in a boomerang action at the same time. And I'm not saying now that it's immoral.

[Semina] Anatoliy Aleksandrovich, insofar as presidential rule is still new to us, and we do not yet know all the fine points, the Supreme Soviet and the president, is it possible that the Supreme Soviet would....

[Sobchak] Of course. The Supreme Soviet retains its controlling functions, including with regard to the president, and it can demand corresponding explanations from the president and adopt corresponding decisions, going as far as convening an extraordinary, let's say, out of turn congress, and going as far as adopting a decision expressing no confidence in the government or the president. But that's another matter, another question, but the question first and foremost, and the main one, is the question of demanding that the Supreme Soviet should receive full information, because we ourselves get to learn from the press about what kind of measures are being taken. Moreover, from unofficial sources you learn about some kind of additional measures which were not announced in the press, not only oil and gas, but also means of transport.

[Semina] Perhaps that's from a series of rumors....

[Sobchak] No. If you bear in mind that, for example, I got this information from the new Chairman of Lithuania's Council of Ministers Kazimiera Prunskiene and from leaders of Leningrad enterprises, they confirmed this, and there are indeed grounds for very serious concern. In general I think that when such questions as national pride and national dignity are affected, then if we do not want to receive in reply the slogan "Freedom or Death" and do not want to receive, let's say, the result that America received as a result of the economic blockade of Cuba—and as is known, that blockade has been going on for more than 25 years, but it is not evident that it has brought any kind of positive results—then if we do not want to aggravate our internal and external situation, we need to sit down at the negotiating table, the more so since the head of the Lithuanian government said in conversation with me that they are ready for those talks; are ready for various ways to resolve questions; are ready to acknowledge that union enterprises, let's say, are foreign property, or the use of them as joint enterprises; or for any, or to redeem... [changes thought] there should be corresponding mature decisions reached as a result of talks. I think that today this is question number one, because it concerns everything, both questions of democratization and questions of the use of executive, in particular, presidential authority, and questions of control on the part of legislators, and finally, moral questions. In the end, all of our misfortunes come from that deformation of morality which takes place in our country, and if we ourselves continue to whip up these distortions of moral principles, and especially in such a delicate sphere as relations between nationalities, then we will not have anything good. [passage omitted]

Supreme Soviet Delineates Union-Republic Powers

LD2604170190 Moscow TASS in English 1643 GMT 26 Apr 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—At a joint sitting of its two houses today, the Soviet parliament adopted a law delineating powers between the union and its constituent republics, granting the union republics "complete state authority on their territories outside the framework of the powers delegated to them to the Union."

According to the new law, the autonomous republic "exercise full state authority on their territories outside the framework of the powers delegated by them to the union and the union republics".

Relations between autonomous republics and other autonomous entities and the union republics, of which they are part, are determined by agreements and treaties concluded within the framework of the Soviet Union, the constitutions of union and autonomous republics and the new law.

Providing an exclusive list of the union's powers and the spheres of joint competence between the union and the republics, the law delegates all other matters to the republics.

It stipulates that the powers of the union cannot be expanded without consent from the subjects of the federation.

The law determines as the union's exclusive powers the resolution of disputes between republics, the delineation of the state border of the USSR and its regime, the approval and execution of the national budget, the establishment of the system of state banks of the USSR, a single monetary system, national taxes and levies, the conclusion of agreements on state loans and credits, control over transport, power engineering, communications and defence industries, the shaping of the USSR's foreign policy, protection of sovereignty and territorial integrity, guidance over the Armed Forces, and the maintenance of the state security of the USSR.

In the sphere of joint competence between the union and republics, the supreme bodies of state authority and government of the USSR are assigned to establish common principles for the juridical status of autonomies and local self-government, to determine foundations of civil, land, penal and other types of legislation, to establish juridical principles for the functioning of the national market, to define a common financial and credit policy and principles of price formation, to shape common principles in labour management, to coordinate the development of culture, education and scientific research, and to exercise general guidance over foreign economic activity.

The law envisages that the USSR may delegate part of its powers to a republic, while the republic, in turn, may

delegate some of its powers to the union. This secures the flexibility and diversity of treaty-based relations between the centre and the republics.

The law grants the supreme bodies of state authority in union and autonomous republics the right to suspend the operation on their territories of acts adopted by union ministries and departments if they contradict republican legislation.

The law will enter into force upon its publication. Provisions of the law and proposals for changing the corresponding section of the Soviet Constitution will be submitted for approval to the 4th Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR.

Debate on Enterprise Taxes Resumed

LD2704080190 Moscow TASS in English 0715 GMT 27 Apr 90

[By TASS parliamentary correspondent]

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—A joint session of the two chambers of the Soviet parliament continued discussing the bill on taxes on enterprises today.

The parliament first took up the bill on April 16, when two alternative drafts were presented. One draft was prepared by the government and the parliament's planning and budget commission, the other—by economist Viktor Yaroshenko of Moscow.

Most speakers then proposed improvements, saying the final draft should encompass all that is best in the two proposed bills.

Today, deputies are also expected to continue debating the pension bill.

Supreme Soviet Absenteeism Examined

90UN1499B Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 15, 14-20 Apr 90 p 2

[Interview with V. Stadnik, member of the Soviet of People's Deputies and the Management and Self-Management Development Committee of the USSR Supreme Soviet, by Ye. Leontyeva; date and place not given; under the rubric "One Hundred and More Seats Are Consistently Empty at Sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet": "The Elected Representatives of the People...Are Playing Truant"]

[Text] [Leontyeva] The expression about the "glass" walls of the Kremlin has already become very popular: The work of the people's deputies is as visible to the voters as if it were sitting in their hand. The country sees not only how they speak, but how often they are present at sessions of the USSR Supreme Soviet....

[Stadnik] We should begin our conversation about our productivity with this—with our discipline. I believe that the present Supreme Soviet, elected by democratic means, does not have the right to talk about the absence of discipline in production. Why? Because at the sessions, where the most important questions of the life of our country are discussed, 100 and more people as a rule are absent.

[Leontyeva] But we would not want to draw conclusions only on the basis, so to speak, of visual observations. The voters have the right to know how "their" deputies are working. However, until now the Supreme Soviet has never made such an account available to them.

[Stadnik] These questions come under the jurisdiction of our committee, and we have completely official information. Please look, for instance, at a short list of those who rarely attended the first session—those who missed more than half of the 56 past meetings of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities. S. Arutyunyan—32; B. Breurosh—42; Ya. Vagris—32; R. Gamzatov—40; S. Grossu—34; A. Masaliev—38; K. Makhkamov—41; M. Mirkasymov—33; S. Niyazov—39; Ye. Sokolov—29; K. Frolov—31; Kh. Abramyan—42; Ch. Aytmatov—41; K. Moteka—36; Ya. Peters—31; A. Ryuytel—34; R. Tabukashvili—39; R. Khudaybergenova—37.

Those who missed more than half of the 46 meetings of the second session were: N. Amaglobeli—31; A.-M. Brazauskas—28; R. Gamzatov—38; V. Dikul—30; I. Dyakov—27; V. Kravets—25; I. Laptev—25; I. Maltsev—44; Yu. Manayenkov—30; K. Makhkamov—26; A. Melikov—30; A. Milkin—42; M. Mirkasymov—38; S. Niyazov—30; O. Pal—27; G. Revenko—27; D. Skulme—31; V. Trefilov—25; K. Frolov—33, S. Chervonopiskiy—39; P. Shetko—26; Yu. Aare—37; Sh. Abdimuratova—34; Kh. Abramyan—37; P. Azizbekova—24; Ch. Aytmatov—35; A. Atadzhanov—36; A. Bakradze—46; V. Belov—33; M. Bronshteyn—24; A.-R. Vezirov—31; V. Vorotnikov—34; Ye. Gayer—28; G. Gumbaridze—33; I. Drutse—25; A. Yefimov—42; K. Zaletskas—27; M. Ibragimov—25; V. Ivashko—27; G. Isayev—45; S. Kallas—38; A. Kanarovskaya—32; A. Kapto—29; Ya. Lutsans—29; K. Moteka—35; A. Namazova—36; V. Nikitin—37; Yu. Nugis—27; V. Romanenko—38; A. Rubiks—30; A. Ryuytel—32; T. Spanderashvili—26; T. Stepnadze—30; R. Tabukashvili—45; K. Uoka—34; V. Falin—35; R. Khudaybergenova—35; and A. Shamikhin—28.

Of course those the computer has marked as "ill" or "for family obligations" were not mentioned. I should also mention that the situation is tense in several of the republics, and as a result a portion of the USSR people's deputies considered it more important to be there than at the sessions in Moscow. And certainly secretaries of obkoms [oblast committees] and party and state officials of higher rank preferred to spend as much time as possible at their posts. This is also understandable. But the productivity of our country's highest organ of power cannot improve as a result of this.

[Leontyeva] The computer account has put the notes "permitted," "on a trip," and "abroad" opposite several names. Are these serious enough grounds to miss the session?

[Stadnik] I expect that not only the voters but we, too, the members of the USSR Supreme Soviet, would like to know who has given such permission. Someone misses almost an entire session, but not once was a question about it submitted to the Supreme Soviet for examination. I have a special problem with trips, especially abroad. Is it so impossible to move them to times when the Supreme Soviet is not in session? With the exception of a few instances, there has not been any special need for an immediate trip. I myself went on a trip for a few days, and when I returned I saw how many important questions had "escaped" me and how difficult it was to make up for what I had missed. Nor can I let the note "permitted by the Central Committee" pass by. Is the Central Committee authorized to release a people's deputy from a Supreme Soviet session? Of course not.

[Leontyeva] Apparently such "discipline" affects in a most immediate manner not only the Supreme Soviet's productivity, but also its competence and the voters' trust in it....

[Stadnik] Yes, we are not only presenting a bad example, we are also losing prestige in the eyes of the voters from the point of view of qualification. We talk so much about how the Supreme Soviet must work continuously or we cannot be expected to demonstrate professionalism. But the core group which "keeps things moving" is only made up of about 250 people. The rest show up sometimes and sometimes do not show up. To a significant degree it is exactly these people who are the potential opponents of the projects that the Supreme Soviet is submitting at the congress.

I do not mean some specific position on an issue. I am only talking about how they do not take part in our daily work, in the difficult work of formulating articles of a law, and in the everyday clash of opinions and convictions, and they do not help us find that single true formula which will allow us to avoid extremes and compel the majority to say "yes." As a result, our "product" seems foreign to those who are absent. One can already hear the indignant voices of those who work consistently: "We wear ourselves out here, and 'they' arrive and, without looking into the matter, start to tear apart a law that is almost ready...."

In addition, I must note that approximately 40 people should work in each of the commissions and committees. If everyone were present, we could create functioning working groups for each issue that is important to us. Then, I expect, the quality of the laws would also improve. And there would be fewer disputes at the plenary meetings, especially on conceptual issues. In my opinion, a concept should be formed in the commissions and committees and not spring up offhandedly at a meeting of the chambers. In general, the Kremlin Palace should be the place for discussion of the individual articles. Again as a result of the shortage of steadily working deputies, we make poor use of the intercommittee form of work and we rarely meet.

[Leontyeva] What is meant by a "quorum" in this situation? I ask because it is going to get worse at the third session, especially in the Soviet of Nationalities where the "truants" are increasing.

[Stadnik] It means that, having affirmed in the regulations a quota "from those present" and not from those in the Supreme Soviet as a whole, you see, we have institutionalized the constant absence of more than 20 percent of the deputies. Thus as we decide the most fundamental issues, we simply close our eyes to the absence of those 100 or more people we have been talking about.

Political & Social

Ideology Secretaries Debate CPSU Strategy

PM2604095390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Apr 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "CPSU Central Committee Conference"]

[Text] A conference of secretaries of union republic communist party central committees, kraykoms, obkoms, and a number of CPSU gorkoms, and raykoms [kray, oblast, city, and rayon party committees] held 23-24 April at the CPSU Central Committee examined questions of the party's ideological-political work in current conditions.

The conference was opened by A.S. Kapto, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Ideological Department. V.A. Medvedev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, gave an address.

Participating in the discussion of the address were D.Kh. Khamidov, secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee; V.I. Zarubin, secretary of Voronezh CPSU Obkom; G.N. Goncharov, secretary of Khabarovsk CPSU Kraykom; Yu.M. Aleksandrovich, secretary of Chelyabinsk CPSU Obkom; Ye.A. Manyakin, USSR deputy minister of communications; L.M. Kravchuk, secretary of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee; A.I. Smirnov, chief of Moscow CPSU Gorkom Ideological Department; V.A. Yefimov, secretary of Leningrad CPSU Gorkom; R.P. Fedorov, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Department; V.I. Kuptsov, chief of a USSR State Committee for Public Education main administration; V.N. Khadunkip, secretary of the Vilnius Lithuanian Communist Party (CPSU Platform) Gorkom; I.I. Antonovich, pro-vice chancellor of the CPSU Central Committee Academy of Social Sciences; N.Ye Kruchina, CPSU Central Committee administrator of affairs; V.G. Gurgenidze, secretary of the Georgian Communist Party Central Committee; and others.

It was noted at the conference that Soviet society has entered into an exceptionally crucial phase in its development. A program of reform—unprecedented in many decades—has started to be implemented in the economic system, the state power, and the sphere of interethnic relations. A qualitatively new phase has also begun in the activity of the party, which is preparing for its 28th congress. The specific nature of this phase consists mainly in the fact that the CPSU must henceforth act on the basis of constitutional norms in the face of rivalry and competition with other political forces and social movements. All this presupposes fundamentally new conceptual approaches in the CPSU's ideological activity.

Today the party is experiencing the agonizing multiple process of reassessing values and many political and socioeconomic phenomena, and reinterpreting the style and methods of work. The viewpoint on socialism is essentially changing. In many respects, the question can be put like this: Should socialism be renewed on democratic, humanist principles or should it no longer exist at all? At the same time, it was stressed at the conference, we certainly must not be reconciled to social apathy and to unconstructive criticism of the party's strategic line and the foundations of Marxist-Leninist teaching, regardless of which side makes this criticism.

Voices can be heard to say that the Politburo and the CPSU Central Committee are supposedly abandoning the policy adopted at the 27th congress and are reconciled to the party's being driven to the margins of politics, lacking a concept for social development. It is hard to say what is greater here: the lack of understanding of the essence of the changes or the carefully thought-out intention to discredit perestroyka on the part of conservative and pseudorevolutionary forces. The tumultuous politicization of society, the broadening of glasnost and democracy and the reforms being carried out—in a word, life itself has made it necessary to introduce specific amendments to the 27th congress directives. Taking the new realities into account, the party's strategic policy has been deepened and clarified at the 19th party conference and at the CPSU Central Committee plenums. The most important role in the renewal of ideology and the creative enrichment of practice is played by the draft CPSU Central Committee Platform for the 28th congress and the draft CPSU Statutes. The Politburo and the CPSU Central Committee are determined to prevent both a conservative recoil from the policy of progressive changes, and a revision of our socialist choice. Ideological workers must adopt a fundamentally offensive stance on these questions and resolutely repulse political renegades, new pseudorevolutionary leaders, dogmatists, conservatives, and separatists.

The conference participants stressed that it is now more important than ever for all healthy social forces for perestroyka to be consolidated on the base of the program drawn up by the party and the state organs to overcome the economic crisis and lead the country onto the road of creating a modern, civilized, socialist society. It was noted that, in the new conditions, we must liberate ourselves resolutely from dogmatism and stereotypes in ideological work and base this work on genuinely scientific foundations and objective analysis, taking into account the people's vital needs and interests. In this connection, a number of measures have been proposed to improve the study of public opinion and work with political and social movements, and to improve the structural sectors of ideological institutes and communists' political education. The focus of ideological work should be to give a new impetus to restructuring processes, lead them into a constructive channel, and stabilize the sociopolitical situation. The fetters of chronic prejudice in economic thinking must also be thrown off, and public opinion must be persuaded of the need for radical economic changes in the process of creating a mechanism for social protection for the main strata of the population.

Ideological workers are faced with complex tasks in the face of a growth in negative trends in the sphere of interethnic relations. They can do a great deal to clarify and implement the CPSU's current national policy, consolidate peoples, and achieve national consensus on the basis of the renewed federation and the new union treaty.

Questions of the ideological and organizational unity of the CPSU membership and mutual relations with other political and social forces and movements were given an important place at the conference. The significance of a correct understanding of the CPSU Central Committee's October letter to the country's communists and active work based on it was stressed. It must not in any event be seen as a signal to halt debate, limit the struggle of opinions and democracy in the party, or alienate all those who spoke critically about the draft CPSU Central Committee Platform, or who put forward alternative opinions. Party accountability measures can only apply to the active leaders of splinter groupings engaged in struggle against the party.

The new model for ideological work in the face of the party's renunciation of a monopoly on political power, the participants in the conference noted, must be based on historical knowledge, modern theoretical thought and practice, and the priority of values common to all mankind. Perestroyka has raised in all its acuteness the problem of a genuinely creative interpretation of Lenin's legacy. Preserving loyalty to Leninist teaching means developing its creative potential, enriching it with new conclusions and positions, and rejecting once and for all the canonization of formulas produced in a specific situation.

The imminent adoption of the Law on the Press and the implementation of a multiparty system are creating a fundamentally new situation in the CPSU's mutual relations with the press. Questions of improving the leadership of its own press and legal aspects of the party's influence in state communication channels—television and radio—and on the newspapers of social organizations and state organs are acquiring great significance. The CPSU's political influence and its role in the acute struggle for public opinion will depend to a great extent on how these questions are resolved.

It was noted at the conference that the party has no grounds to complain about the explosion in social activeness. Today, the Leninist formula "the masses' living creativity" is being put into practice. The ideological workers' task is to direct the people's activeness into building a democratic, humane socialism. This is the key aim in the renewal of the Communist Party in the foreseeable future.

The discussion of the forms and methods of ideological work in current conditions was continued in CPSU Central Committee departments and sections. The participants in the conference laid flowers at the V.I. Lenin Mausoleum.

V.A. Medvedev summed up the conference. He answered questions from the floor.

Taking part in the work of the conference were Yu.A. Manayenkov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee; A.S. Pavlov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee State and Legal Department; V.A. Kuptsov, chief of the CPSU Central Committee Department for Work with Sociopolitical Organizations; and other CPSU Central Committee senior officials.

28th Congress Preparatory Commission Set Up

LD2104151290 Moscow TASS in English 1501 GMT 21 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 21 TASS—After consultations with members of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee and party committees, the Party Central Committee's Commission on Preparations for the 28th Party Congress has been set up.

The commission includes members of the central elective party bodies, USSR people's deputies from the Soviet Communist Party first secretaries of the republican communist parties' central committees, first secretaries of some territorial and regional party committees, a large group of secretaries of city and district committees and primary party organisations, as well as social scientists.

Delegates to the 28th Congress are also expected to join the commission.

Komsomol Congress Declaration Published

PM2404103990 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 24 Apr 90 p 1

[Text of "21st Komsomol Congress Declaration"]

[Text] The totalitarian system where the individual was suppressed for many years under cover of the communist idea is collapsing before our eyes. The clash of the new and the old is accompanied by flare-ups of violence, national reprisals, social tension, and a clearly marked antagonism in ideology and politics. Society is agonizingly overcoming the dogmatic conservative awareness and is groping for ways of switching to the creation of a sensible, democratic, and normal way of life. Real parliamentarianism, a multiparty system, and a decentralized multistructured economy are being born and man is gradually moving to the center of all transformations.

Aware of its responsibility for the fate of the league, the congress considers the main tasks of the Komsomol [All-Union Leninist Communist Youth League] to be:

—the creation of conditions for man's free development, the revelation of his creative potential, and the defense and implementation of the interests and rights of members of the organization and the country's young people;

—promotion of the creation of a society of democratic, humane socialism and of the country's transition to the condition of a truly federative rule-of-law state, and the implementation of this transition without violence, by parliamentary means.

The Komsomol cannot implement these aims in its present form.

The way out is seen:

—in concentrating the organizational efforts, material resources, and financial assets of state organs and public organizations called on to resolve young people's problems;

—the Komsomol proclaims itself an organization of socialist choice, an equal part of the democratic youth movement.

The basis of ideological unity in the Komsomol is the creatively developed theory of Marxism, the recognition of the priority of general human values; and the achievements of modern socialist thought.

The congress advocates the autonomy of the Komsomol, close collaboration with the CPSU, and equal cooperation with other parties and public organizations.

A new organizational structure should accord with the league's new content. The resolute elimination of stringent internal league structures, debureaucratization, the assertion of freedom of debate and the formation of platforms within the framework of an organization, respect for the rights of the majority and the minority—that is the path for renovating the league. While preserving ideological unity, the Komsomol is being reorganized into a federation of youth leagues.

In accordance with the standing orders of the 21st Komsomol Congress, the congress delegates have submitted a number of amendments and alternative proposals which were drawn up as minority opinions. These materials will be published in the next issues of the newspaper.

Contest Initiated for Draft Concept of New Union

90UN1499A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 15, 14-20 Apr 90 p 2

[Unattributed article: "Contest"]

[Text] **The problems of the national and state organization of the Soviet Union have moved into the foreground. Their resolution requires that a new Union agreement be concluded.**

An interregional deputies group is conducting a contest for the best draft concept.

Three prizes have been established for the winners (first prize—R5,000, second prize—R3,000, third prize—R1,000.

No later than 10 May 1990 participants in the contest must present a draft concept of a Union agreement (no more than 10 pages of typewritten, double-spaced text, two copies without authors' notes and one copy with authors' notes) and information about the authors to the contest's organizational committee (at the address: A. Murashev, USSR people's deputy, 121019, Moscow, 27 Kalinin Prospect, Room 1416, telephone number 203-45-39). The copy with the authors' notes and the information about the authors should be in a sealed envelope marked with a motto or logo of the authors' collective.

The draft concept of the Union agreement must encompass: Basic principles for forming the new Union; a mechanism for entry, secession, and expulsion; principles and mechanisms for delegating authority, ruling on interrepublic problems, and adopting All-Union rulings; and the structure and basic functions of the Union's organs of government and a mechanism for forming them.

The winners of the contest and authors of interesting designs will be enlisted for further work on the draft of a Union agreement.

Those who wish may take part in a special procedure to finance the design of the draft.

PRAVDA Editorial on Party Press Tasks

PM2404154090 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 24 Apr 90 Second Edition p 1

[Editorial: "Urgent Tasks for the Party Press: Guideline—the CPSU Central Committee Resolution on PRAVDA"]

[Text] Today, when the task of strengthening the party's vanguard, consolidating role and stepping up its influence on the masses has assumed a new form, a very important place in this constructive work belongs to the party press, and first and foremost the CPSU Central Committee organ—the newspaper PRAVDA. This could be said to be the key idea in the resolution recently adopted by our party's Central Committee "On the Newspaper PRAVDA." Basically it proposes a program of activity for all the party press at the present stage of perestroyka.

First and foremost we note the exacting, mobilizing nature of this fundamental document. The CPSU Central Committee states frankly that until recently the standard of items in PRAVDA has not been up to present-day requirements and the readers' needs. What conclusion is drawn from this? The conclusion is clearly formulated in the Central Committee resolution: In order to fulfill its purpose PRAVDA, like the whole of our party press, must restructure itself actively, resolutely abandoning elements of dogmatic thinking, stereotypes, and conventionalism.

It seems that readers now seek with particular interest, amid the sea of publications, the most honest and

responsible adviser. The very name of our newspaper ["pravda" means "truth"] imposes great obligations. In the conditions of radical transformations of all spheres of society's life, when processes are taking place that are unprecedented in their complexity and scale, the need for profound and competent analysis of these processes, clear and accurate assessments, and a truthful voice is increasing immeasurably. People want reliable information both on the positive developments achieved and on the causes of socioeconomic difficulties, hitches, and negative phenomena. Who will provide an exhaustive answer to these sometimes highly sensitive and unpleasant questions? The press of the party that began perestroyka in the country should take the initiative. And to this end it is necessary to write only the truth and persistently pursue a course of radical renewal.

How to pursue perestroyka most successfully is no simple question. It requires detailed and comprehensive discussion, which is impossible without the participation of the press. As the party's main platform in print, PRAVDA seeks to set the tone as the partywide discussion prior to the 28th CPSU Congress gets under way. The discussion is now centered on problems raised in the draft CPSU Central Committee Precongress platform and the draft new party Statutes, and in the Central Committee's open letter to the country's Communists. The task of the press is to develop constructive dialogue, and to conduct That dialogue from principled party positions.

Journalistic current affairs research is now increasingly organically linked to theoretical research. This is reflected both in the painful topics of our Soviet history, and in the approach to the ambivalent, contradictory processes of the present-day ideological and political sphere, and in the formulation of the concept of humane, democratic socialism. Not for nothing is PRAVDA set the task of being an authoritative platform for rapidly developing social thinking. The party press is called upon to provide graphic and accessible propaganda of whatever is new and most advanced in both theory and practice stemming from the masses' creativity and the development of the social sciences. A problem of particular significance for the party press is the modern interpretation of Lenin's legacy.

PRAVDA readers note in their letters that the newspaper must move closer to people. And we read in the Central Committee resolution: People should be the focus of the attention of PRAVDA and all the party press. People's concerns and needs, the pursuit of an active social policy, the creation of the conditions for the all-around development of the individual—these are topics which we will be dealing with literally in every issue from various angles and in various genres.

Improving people's lives depends, of course, on the state of our economy. This is today entering a qualitatively new phase, which dictates the need for a new approach to the coverage of its problems in the press.

The diversity of all spheres of society's spiritual life awaits wider coverage in the pages of PRAVDA and the other party press. The very logic and essence of perestroyka demand an enormous upsurge in culture—philosophical, political, industrial, ecological, artistic, legal. The press can do much to channel cultural potential into the improvement of the moral climate in the country and the establishment of panhuman principles and moral norms.

The resolution is permeated with concern for boosting the prestige and popularity of the CPSU's central organ. We value the idea that PRAVDA should be a true focal point for the country's intellectual and creative forces, that its pages should be filled by the best journalists and writers, the most up-to-date scientists and workers, artistic personalities and peasants, veterans and young people. We have recently learned with delight of the formation of amateur clubs of friends of PRAVDA in various regions, which help to strengthen the editorial office's links with its readers and with the writing aktiv and help to propagandize the newspaper. The same end will be served by the annual PRAVDA festivals, the first of which is to be held 5-6 May this year at the USSR Exhibition of National Economic Achievements. We invite you to participate in the festival of your newspaper and ours, of the whole party!

Life demands the all-around strengthening of the links between party committees and their press. Today the former concept of party leadership of the mass media is in many respects being amended and transformed by the times themselves. The formerly widespread administrative edict methods are retreating. But this does not mean that things can now be left to their own devices in general or that party committees will withdraw completely from all relations with the press. On the contrary! The Central Committee resolution orients us toward making those relations far closer. But they will not simply be relations of subjection and subordination, but more partnership, cooperation, and constant collaboration. Party committee workers should feel that they are the comrades and colleagues of party journalists, help the press to ensure the effectiveness of its publications, support local correspondents, widen the writing aktiv, and themselves write for their own press more often.

The party's cause is our common cause. We PRAVDA people will try to be its reliable helpers in these difficult times. We will give everything in our power, all our efforts, energy, and talent, to the renewal of the party and society on the basis of humanism and democracy.

Readers Offer Precongress Suggestions

90UN1499C Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 15, 14-20 Apr 90 p 3

[Letters from readers under the rubric "Letters About the Party"]

[Text] **But Who Is Guilty?**

Like many of my party comrades, I expected something more specific from the draft platform of the CPSU Central Committee for the congress. For instance perestroyka is slipping, as a good number of the speakers noted at the CPSU Central Committee Plenum, and no one knows who is guilty.

I would like to make several specific proposals. In the fourth section of the draft platform instead of the words "the development of society does not exclude the possibility of creating parties as well," the following should be written: "The development of society does not exclude the possibility of creating parties, informal groups, and associations which do not contradict the USSR Constitution and which defend socialism and the teachings of Marxism-Leninism." And so on throughout the text. The problem is that all kinds of informals have appeared in society which have not so far formed themselves into parties and which do not always contribute to our renewal and to the development of revolutionary perestroyka. Quite the opposite, in fact.

A few words about the party organs of mass information. I believe that except for PRAVDA as an organ of the CPSU Central Committee, the rest of the newspapers should be transferred to the authority of the USSR State Committee for the Press.

[Signed] K. Abdulov, docent at Tajik State University imeni V.I. Lenin.

For Discussion

I propose that the upcoming 28th CPSU Congress be conducted as a congress of division at which the CPSU would be divided into two independent communist parties distinguishing themselves by strategy and tactics. One of them should become the party of the "orthodox (faithful) Marxists," and the other—the party of the "radicals." And I suggest that the members of an unraveling CPSU declare themselves and register in one of these parties.

It is unnecessary to point out that the question of the pace of perestroyka is decisive today. In the meantime, internal perestroyka, proceeding extremely slowly as well, may get bogged down in attempts to reconcile the opposing positions of communists in the course of working out the party's new program and rules. The resolution I am proposing is connected logically with the ideas set out in the draft platform as approved by the CPSU Central Committee, and it allows us to cut this Gordian knot. The variant I have proposed will permit us to create in the shortest possible time two powerful, viable, competing political parties in the country; that is, to actually create a multiparty system.

It is especially important that communists, by stopping socialist innerparty disputes between opponents aspiring to a monopolistic possession of the truth, succeed in putting an end to the discrediting of the communist idea itself in the public's eyes.

[Signed] P. Mishin, official at the Scientific Center of the Academy of the USSR MVD [Ministry of Internal Affairs], member of the CPSU.

To Make a Deliberate Choice

The conservative portion of the party and state apparat, having led the country to the brink of economic and political catastrophe, is making furious attempts to execute an antiperestroyka revolution in the party on the eve of the 28th CPSU Congress. The persecution of reforming communists in PRAVDA, the exclusion of "Democratic Platform" advocates from the party in Belorussia and the Ukraine, and, finally, a call for disciplinary violence against them in the CPSU Central Committee's open letter "For Consolidation on the Basis of Principle" testifies to the conservatives' transition "from word to deed" and from discussion to practical conclusions. Speaking again in the name of the Central Committee is a group of people who are imposing their point of view on the party and scorning the opinion of the democratic-minded members of the Central Committee and the majority of the country's communists.

Unable to proclaim "wide and free discussion" in the party, the CPSU Central Committee is quickly cutting off the valve of "innerparty democracy" and, relying on the notorious principle of democratic centralism, is resorting to forcible methods. Why is this happening just before the 28th congress where we would have to decide who is right, who has the truth, or even just hear out the "seditious" thoughts of the representatives of the "Democratic Platform?" The answer is clear. The advocates of maintaining the old model of the party as the leading element of an administrative and command system understand perfectly well that they are not able to withstand an open and honest competition of ideas and positions.

About the main idea of the open letter, its most important point is the Central Committee's impossibility of "getting beyond the attempts by certain people to lead the party away from the strategic course it has taken." What "strategic course of the party" are they talking about? There are draft documents of the Central Committee. Precongress discussion is underway, and the congress will present their results. Then communists and the whole people will see who is leading the party off the course of perestroyka and democratic renewal, trying to provoke a schism, and trying to cut the reforming communists off from the 28th CPSU Congress, and who is preventing all this.

In the open letter the CPSU Central Committee is called upon to finish with the heritage of Stalinism. However, the whole collection of Stalinist stock phrases are quite evident in this document: The fight "against those who have taken up the path of struggling with the party," the need to "investigate" communists and "not to allow conciliatory attitudes toward ideological vacillation," etc. The very understanding of factions is adulterated in the Stalinist spirit as "anitparty groupings."

Appropriating to itself the right to truth in the last instance, the apparat again intends, as in past years, to "intensify educational and explanatory work." How it must despise the communists in order to deprive them of the right to independently examine the processes taking place in society and the party and make a deliberate choice.

We do not acknowledge the right of the party bureaucrats to impose their will on the party's masses.

We call upon communists not to tolerate the persecution of those who think differently and the party's deviation from the course of democratization and renewal proclaimed by M.S. Gorbachev.

We demand a party referendum on key issues of the development of the party and the country.

The time has come for each of us to make his choice.

And we trust in the wisdom and the good sense of the communists and all the Soviet people.

[Signed] G.Kh. Popov, V.A. Tikhonov, and Yu.D. Chernichenko, USSR people's deputies;

Members of the Coordinating Council of the Democratic Platform in the CPSU: V.N. Lysenko, RSFSR people's deputy; V.V. Lunin, RSFSR people's deputy; B.N. Yeltsin, USSR people's deputy; V.N. Shostakovskiy, rector of the Moscow Higher Party School; V.S. Shakhnovskiy, deputy of the Moscow Soviet; and I.B. Chubays, docent at the State Institute of Dramatic Art.

Lukyanov Receives Soviet German Representatives

LD2104194890 Moscow TASS in English 1643 GMT 21 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 21 TASS—Chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet Anatoliy Lukyanov received on Friday Soviet Germans' representatives: USSR People's Deputy Petr Falk and members of the State Commission for Soviet Germans' Problems and members of the all-Union Rebirth Society Hugo Wormsbecher, Yuriy Gaar, and Vladimir Ritter.

Soviet Germans' representatives spoke of the situation in which two million Germans in the Soviet Union found themselves. The problems can be resolved together with other economic, political and national problems and a just and consistent solution should be found.

Lukyanov supported their position and openly spoke of the difficulties the Soviet leadership sees in finding a solution, and the ways to overcome them. He noted Soviet Germans' great contribution to the country's development, their traditional diligence and devotion to socialism.

Participants in the meeting said they hoped such meetings will become regular.

Regular Meetings Desired

PM2404121190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 22 Apr 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Meeting in the Kremlin"]

[Text] On 20 April A.I. Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet, received a group of Soviet Germans including: USSR People's Deputy P.P. Falk, members of the state commission on problems of Soviet Germans, and G.G. Vormsbekher, Yu.A. Gaar, and V.K. Ritter, members of the all-Union "Rebirth" society leadership.

The representatives of the Soviet Germans spoke about the prevailing situation among the 2 million-strong German population. Looking at their problem in the general context of economic, political, and national tasks in the current period and understanding its complexity, they are nevertheless convinced of the need to resolve it logically and fairly.

Supporting this stance, the chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet frankly expounded the difficulties that the country's leadership sees on the path to resolving this issue, and the possibility of overcoming them. A.I. Lukyanov noted the Soviet Germans' large contribution to our country's development, and their traditional diligence and devotion to the cause of socialism. The participants in the conversation noted the desirability of such meetings' becoming regular.

General Yazov Meets With WWII Veterans

LD2104142590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1300 GMT 21 Apr 90

[From the "News and Music" program presented by Vladimir Bezyayev]

[Text] Less than three weeks remain until the celebration of the 45th anniversary of the Soviet people's victory in the great Patriotic War. At the present time meetings of veterans are taking plce in various towns of our country.

USSR Defense Minister Army General Yazov today met with writer and poet veterans of the Great Patriotic War in the "Grekov" war artists' studio in Moscow.

In the course of the conversation about the influence of the great victory on the entire literary process, ways of further developing and perfecting heroic and patriotic subjects in the works of Soviet literary men were outlined.

Benefits for War Veterans Improved

PM2504083790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Apr 90 Second Edition pp 1, 5

[Unattributed report: "Concerning the 45th Victory Anniversary"]

[Text] On 14 April the USSR Council of Ministers adopted a Resolution "On Measures Concerning the

Celebration of the 45th Anniversary of the Soviet People's Victory in the Great Patriotic War." The preparation for and celebration of this date is being carried out against the backdrop of the country's comprehensive renewal and the implementation of the tasks of perestroyka.

Union and autonomous republic councils of ministers and local soviet ispolkoms [executive committee] must show greater concern for Great Patriotic War veterans, the parents and widows of servicemen who died fighting for their homeland, and workers in the rear services who worked selflessly during the war—everyone who helped to secure the victory.

The resolution envisages the adoption of additional measures to restore Great Patriotic War memorials, communal graves, and other burial places of Soviet servicemen, partisans, and members of the underground who died fighting for the the freedom and independence of our homeland and step up the work everywhere to create an All-Union Memorial Book.

The USSR Council of Ministers adopted a decision improving the pension provision for participants in and disabled veterans of the Great Patriotic War. As of 1 October 1990 and until the introduction of new USSR legislation on citizens' pension provision all kinds of pensions allocated to war participants are increased by the government resolution by 25 percent of the minimum old age pension regardless of existing maximum pensions (unless the present resolution envisages otherwise).

The following minimum pensions are fixed:

for disabled war veterans in disability categories I and II who were fixed-term enlisted personnel—150 percent of the minimum old-age pension envisaged by the USSR Law "On Urgent Measures To Improve the Pension Provision and Social Services for the Population"; and for those in disability category III—75 percent;

for disabled war veterans who were fixed-term sergeants, privates first class, petty officers, and senior seamen—110 percent of the corresponding minimum envisaged for disabled servicemen of fixed-term enlisted personnel; for those who were warrant officers and ensigns performing extended military service and members of the junior command and enlisted personnel of internal affairs organs—120 percent; and for those who were members of the officer personnel and command staff (excluding junior command)—130 percent.

Great Patriotic War disabled veterans in receipt of disability pensions are to have their pensions increased by R20 per month, unless they are entitled to a larger pension increase under this resolution.

The size of the increase in pensions for old age and for years in service (fixed at the level of the USSR Defense Ministry, the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs, and the USSR KGB) set for war veterans increases to the minimum pension for the corresponding disability group; other kinds of pensions received by disabled war veterans increase by the same amount.

The size of the care supplement to the disability pension of category I disabled war veterans rises to R70 per month. The same size of supplement to the disability pension for the care of single category II disabled war veterans who need outside help is also envisaged; the pensions for working pensioners who are war veterans are to be paid in full regardless of wages earned or place of work.

It is resolved that as of 1 July 1990 Great Patriotic War disabled veterans may, at their request, be given monetary compensation once every two years instead of warrants to a sanatorium or rest home: For disabled war veterans in categories I and II—R100; for disabled war veterans in category III—R80. The payment of monetary compensation for 1989-1990 will be effected in 1990.

That same year will see the allocation of 50,000 cars for the use of Great Patriotic War participants, including 32,000 for disabled war veterans entitled to receive a Zaporozhets car free of charge. The right to receive such a free vehicle is granted to Great Patriotic War disabled in category I suffering visual impairment or the loss of both arms. Union republic councils of ministers are granted the right, within the limits of the funds annually appropriated for cars, to sell disabled war veterans other makes of automobile, at their request, deducting the cost of the free Zaporozhets car to which they are entitled.

As of 1 July this year Great Patriotic War veterans are granted by government resolution the right to free travel on suburban railroad and water transport and buses on suburban routes, as is a person accompanying category I disabled war veterans on journeys on all kinds of city passenger transport (except taxis) and on general purpose motor transport (except taxis) in rural localities within the administrative region of the place of residence.

Great Patriotic War veterans are authorized to make, on request, 1 free (return) trip every 2 years by rail and also water, air, or intercity road transport, regardless of whether railroad transport is available, or 1 (return) trip per year with a 50-percent reduction by those forms of transport.

Citizens who worked in enterprises, establishments, and organizations in the city of Leningrad in the period from 18 January 1943 through 27 January 1944 and were awarded the "Defense of Leningrad" medal will have extended to them as of 1 July this year the benefits envisaged in the CPSU Central Committee and USSR Council of Ministers 14 May 1985 Resolution "On the Extension of Benefits Prescribed for Great Patriotic War Veterans to Citizens Who Worked at Leningrad Enterprises, Establishments, and Organizations during the Period of the Blockade of the City and Were Awarded the 'Defense of Leningrad' Medal."

Union and autonomous republic councils of ministers and local soviet ispolkoms are required, with the involvement of war and labor veterans councils and the labor collectives of enterprises and establishments, to effect additional measures to improve the living conditions of war veterans, the families of dead servicemen, and workers in the rear services. It is recommended that payments be made out of locally available funds to top up all kinds of state pensions received by those categories of citizens and that they be afforded other material help; that benefits in terms of medical services, payment for housing and municipal services, and travel on public transport be established; that the cost of fuel and tickets required by industrial plant veterans when visiting cultural, educational, theatrical establishments and other places of entertainment be paid in full or in part and concessions granted for the use of sports and healthcare complexes, rest homes, boarding houses, and sanatoriums under their jurisdiction; and that various kinds of social assistance be made available to veterans.

The USSR Government enjoins union republic councils of ministers to adopt measures to provide single war veterans living in communal apartments with individual, well-appointed accomodation in the course of 1990-1992.

The USSR Ministry of Health, the USSR State Committee for Construction, the USSR State Planning Committee, and union republic councils of ministers are instructed to ensure that war veterans' hospitals under construction are commissioned on schedule and to bring their material and technical base into line with modern demands by equipping them with the latest medical equipment and apparatus.

Universality of Socialist Values Proclaimed

PM2304101190 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 14 Apr 90 p 3

[Article by USSR People's Deputy V.F. Romanov under rubric "Common Human Values and the Class Approach": "The Purpose of the Goal"]

[Excerpt] Magnitogorsk—[passage omitted] The current stage of democratization, it seems to me, bears the stamp of a certain narrowness, since the freedom of self-expression and expression of will applies predominantly to intelligentsia circles and the literate and articulate fraternity. The sharp reduction in direct working class representation in all organs of power puts us on our guard. We must try to avoid repeating the experience of the U.S. Congress, which does not comprise a single worker. Workers and intelligentsia must not be artificially pitted against each other. The live voice of the working class in the representative organs of power cannot be fully replaced by even the cleverest "retransmitters" from among the intelligentsia. The exhortations of the present-day "democrats" to revise the idea of the leading role of the working class are nothing but a rejection of the socialist choice, a departure from the course toward real people's power. Democracy is by no means exhausted by the proclamation of political freedoms.

In the present situation there are ever louder and more frequent condemnations of violence irrespective of the nature of the situation and calls for political dialogue as the one and only universal means of resolving all controversies and conflicts. Against this backdrop, which reflects the distinctive nature of the new political thinking and the situation in the world, we have, deliberately or otherwise, begun to forget and ignore one of Lenin's key behests to the effect that "any revolution is only worthy of the name if it knows how to defend itself." The same can also be said about democracy. In this context it is necessary to note that there is no more pathetic and dangerous illusion than gambling on a policy of appeasement and persuasion in respect of those who themselves embody violence while hypocritically holding forth about the impermissibility of violence. With what ease, judging by the draft law on criminal liability for dissident thought, were the Lithuanian separatists from "Sajudis" ready to dispatch thousands of people behind bars, while being ready at the same time to defend with their bodies deserters who had blatantly violated the law and their oath.

Expatiation about a "refined," nonviolent policy creates a favorable atmosphere and a breeding ground for violators' impunity. It is a law of revolutionary development that democracy must be protected both from dictators and from anarchy and crime. And the means of protection are dictated by the circumstances. **So far we are witnessing a growth in violence to the accompaniment of talk about humanism and freedom.**

The key principle of the revolutionary theory of K. Marx and V.I. Lenin and of the practice of interethnic relations is internationalism. It finds an expression in the struggle for the elimination of privileges and restrictions imposed on big and small nations, in ensuring their real material and cultural equality, in the class solidarity of the working people, and in the joint responsibility of the socialist countries and peoples for the fate of the gains of the revolution. This principle proceeds from the necessity to view all local and ethnic problems and specific features (despite all their significance and sensitiveness) from the angle of the priority of common international tasks and interests. Of paramount importance for separatists and nationalists of all hues are the rights of the given national community, while human rights come second. Internationalism is intolerant of any manifestation of nationalism, chauvinism, or declarations of national exclusivity because they go together with the antisocialist forces in union republics which are gambling on the restoration of capitalism. Furthermore, these forces are now openly rejecting the socialist choice and associated values. As is "Sajudis."

We are afraid nowadays to pronounce the word "collectivism" aloud. Meanwhile this is a most important social value which is the moral and political expression of the

essence of the socialist economic system based on the fundamental coincidence of the main personal, collective, and nationwide interests. For the sake of objectivity it is necessary to say that in our history the principle of collectivism was sometimes used to cover "regimentation," coercion, and the infringement of individual interests. However, despite all this, the collectivist psychology has become relatively firmly rooted in our day-to-day life and has stood the test of time in the most difficult conditions, including the war against fascism. It is wrong to debase and discredit this norm of relations between people, especially in young people's eyes, mindful of Lenin's dictum that although socialism is based on "personal interest" rather than enthusiasm alone, it is created nonetheless "with the help of enthusiasm." Today we appear to have completely forgotten the second half of Lenin's well-known dictum. We should also remember that virtue does not flourish on lucre alone. Collectivism is the ability to rise above personal interest. It incorporates the best human qualities—including the highest measure of altruism, intolerance of evil, mutual assistance, a sense of solidarity with the working people, and active kindness. Therefore it is totaly wrong to pit collectivism against common human values.

The objective necessity of critically interpreting the results of the CPSU's activity has now degenerated into a polyphonic chorus of one-sidedly nihilistic assessments of the historical past of the USSR (under the banner of the rehabilitation of the truth). Furthermore this past is being caricatured to such an extent by certain of our leading press organs and television programs that bourgeois political scientists are being forced to rise "to the defense" of socialist values and gains.

Everyone is aware now that there have been more than enough misfortunes, mistakes, bungling, and lawlessness along our path. However, who could deny that during the years of Soviet rule Russia has achieved a historical leap forward unprecedented in terms of scale and has become a great power which determines the fate of the world by ensuring military and strategic parity between socialism and capitalism.

The socialist idea and the practice of ensuring elementary social certainties for rank-and-file workers in the USSR have had a real revolutionizing impact on the capitalist system itself, which has, during the postwar years, focused sharply on the working people's social needs. I am saying all this to show that even when taking the strictest and most exacting view of our historic past we must not undervalue the tremendous creative energy of the millions of people awakened by the socialist revolution. We must not take up the stance of people who deny their roots. You cannot instill common human values with the help of negative lessons alone.

'Rationed' Reforms Seen Courting Backlash

PM2604155190 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Apr 90 Morning Edition p3

[Article by Candidate of Philosophical Sciences V. Kiselev: "From April to April. Perestroyka: The Hopes It Has Justified and the Hopes It Has Not"]

[Text] Are you likely to meet a gardener of sound mind who would regularly water a tree that had long dried up and expect it to bear fruit?

It seems to me that our authorities resemble just such a gardener: For years they lured people with radiant but distant prospects and explained away "temporary difficulties" by citing enemy intrigues, the newness of the path embarked upon, and even the vicissitudes of the weather; then they started talking about deformations in the social structure, whose rectification would finally enable it to realize its inexhaustible potential.

It is impossible not to see the changes that have been made in the Soviet Union in the last five years: Glasnost, laws on land, cooperatives, ownership, and leasehold relations, and a new political system with an emerging opposition and multiparty principles have all become part of our life. It is enough to compare just two documents to comprehend the distance we have traveled: M.S. Gorbachev's report to the CPSU Central Committee plenum on 23 April 1985, and his theoretical article "The Socialist Idea and Revolutionary Restructuring." The report sets the task of accelerating socioeconomic progress. A stereotyped approach was taken to the situation: It was noted that, while successes had been achieved in the country's development, unfavorable trends had grown stronger in recent years and difficulties had arisen. When have official documents not registered successes and acknowledged certain difficulties? When has there not been mention of socialism's inexhaustible potential, the vital creativity and energy of the masses, unity of word and deed, communists' vanguard role, order and discipline, and the need to overcome formalism...?

At the end of 1989 the CPSU leader admitted: "Whereas we initially believed that it was largely a question of simply ironing out certain deformations in the social organism and improving on the system that had evolved over the preceding decades and was, as a whole, firmly established, we now speak of the need to radically rework our entire social edifice: from economic foundations to the superstructure." Moreover, M.S. Gorbachev's article is the first rejection of ready-made, abstract projects for the social structure, which any methods, violent methods included, could be used to implement. Progress toward democratic, humane socialism was proclaimed as the essence of perestroyka. What is more, there appeared other approaches—fundamentally new to the Soviet leadership—to modern civilization and the role of socialism in that civilization. I will name just the most important: the interpretation of socialism as a world process; recognition of the many different options for

socialist development; special attention to the experience of Social Democracy; and the desire to overcome antagonism between socialism and capitalism on the basis of using the common mechanisms of a single human civilization.

These ideas have also been incorporated in the draft CPSU Central Committee Platform for the 28th CPSU Congress, where we can finally read the following words: "We are primarily making a break with the authoritarian bureaucratic system, which is incompatible with socialist principles. Our ideal is humane, democratic socialism."

In practice, this means a switch from one type of development to another: from a regulated, constantly planned mechanism run on the basis of directives to a more self-governing mechanism.

The stage has been set, the degree of the reforms' radicalism established, but the alarm gripping the supporters of reform is showing no signs of abating. This alarm was successfully conveyed by one USSR people's deputy, who recently said that we must run the length of a corridor engulfed in flames and that if we do not succeed we are dead.

Of course we must run as soon as the fire breaks out, but we can save ourselves if we know where to run. So where are we "running" exactly? What has happened and is happening in our country: Is the old system being renewed or is it collapsing? Is it the old, "Stalinist" model of socialism in crisis, or are we waving goodbye to the socialist idea? Are we interpreting a hole in the side of our ship as a worldwide sinking? I believe this is the main question in today's ideological struggle.

I am convinced that the main outcome of perestroyka is the idea, reached through much suffering, of dismantling the inhuman, barrack-style system fondly referred to by economists as the "administrative-edict" system. It must be admitted that this idea's upward progress has been difficult: We have had to gradually overcome not only the concept that socialism is slightly indisposed, but also the idea that it is deformed—concepts which have in themselves appeared revisionist in comparison with past assessments of our reality.

Nevertheless, it would hardly be right to reject clothing altogether because of one badly tailored suit. The now-defunct barracks version of socialism does not negate the immortality of the socialist ideal.

This ideal is not something invented by scientists closeted away in offices, it is not their plaything, and it certainly is not the fruit of revolutionary nihilists' dreams. The dream of social justice and protection, equal opportunities, the elimination of exploitation, and freedom has accompanied mankind throughout the entire period of its class development.

However, our Marxist socialism remained at its 19th century level. Its essence was to get rid of the market, commodity-based mode of production with its anarchy, competition, and exploitation based on buying and selling manpower. This meant that the expropriators had to be expropriated: It meant the elimination of private ownership of the means of production and the establishment of centralized planning, whereby the finished fruits of labor would be removed and then redistributed. It was assumed that this redistribution would be implemented on the basis of social justice.

At the end of the 20th century it is becoming increasingly obvious that the system of distributive socialism is ineffectual and that a vast police apparatus is needed both to force people to work and to control those who distribute the common national pie. The people are in servile dependence on the lordly disposition of the latter. Any such model inevitably engenders a dictatorship of the "Stalinist" type, tyranny, deprivation of individual rights, a poor living standard for the working people, and a distribution system based on ration cards.

The solution lies in a variety of forms and subjects of ownership and in the consistent dismantling of barrack-type structures. This dismantling process will take time, a search for adequate strategy and tactics, and, of course, quite a lot of money. It will require the decisiveness of a surgeon rather than the invocations of a shaman. In any case, the operation has already begun, because there was and could be no alternative to surgical intervention. And the operation must be completed: More resolute steps must be taken along the road to a market economy.

A normal economy means abandoning blanket directive planning and recognizing that a market system is incompatible with the pointing finger of the bureaucrat. While tolerating broadbrush [indikativnoye] planning and regulation by economic methods, the market does not need the mystification of the public consciousness with the aid of five-year plans. A market economy does, of course, mean intensified social stratification, unemployment, new ideological and political values, and a new type of workforce.... But that is dictated by life, that is how the entire civilized world is developing, and we cannot avoid this high road, although we also cannot avoid the ruts and hollows and, perhaps, attempts to push us back into our own original swamp.

Despite the fact that our country is poor, ruined, in a state of virtual collapse, a struggle is still being waged in the Soviet Union between those who have recognized the complete bankruptcy of the old system and those who still claim (either sincerely or hypocritically) that the structure itself is good, but the builders were at fault. According to them, all we have to do is get rid of the deformations and everything will be fine. Some politicians, who have been ruining the country for decades and boasting of constant improvement in the masses' well-being, continue to argue the case for continuity of development. They are behaving like the satirized pompadour who ordered the coachmen to be flogged at every coach station, explaining to the foreigner traveling with him that that was our way of giving a tip.

The attempt by reformist forces to draw closer to social democracy and, on this basis, get rid of the dogmas which stifle all life has prompted accusations of class betrayal and petit-bourgeois degeneration. However, I am convinced that victory for the pragmatic reformists over dogmatic devotees of dilapidated social structures and frenzied advocates of ideological intolerance is historically predetermined, although the struggle is by no means over. Fear of the people, who have thrown aside all restraint, fear of so-called "soapbox democracy," and fear of losing their meek flock, to use the expression of one party functionary, is a constant impetus to those who want to stifle perestroyka and drive the people back into their stall. However, this nostalgia for directive, noneconomic methods of wielding power is not the main issue. The proclaimed dismantling of the old structures has caused a decline in political discipline and has undermined the old ideological incentives... without being compensated by the introduction of a market mechanism. Hence the growing number of unresolved economic problems, the scale of crime, centrifugal national aspirations, and society's increasing weariness of "critical bombast" and the simultaneous, growing drama of everyday life.

I would like to move on to the main contradiction in the present situation in the Soviet Union in the ideological sphere. On the one hand, party and state leaders have embarked on a path of rejecting far-fetched schemes and objectives intended to achieve universal "happiness." On the other, not all of them are prepared to agree that we are dealing with the defeat of the socialist idea in its **orthodox** version.

The main problem is to find means of moving away from the old, ineffectual, ruinous structures of economics and politics toward structures that are new to us, but old as far as many other countries are concerned. It goes without saying that returning with dignity to the civilized community is no easy matter. There are many dangers: seen and unseen. One of them is the rejection of market mechanisms and a number of pluralist values by most of the people.

The difficult, if not dramatic formation of the cooperative movement, the refusal to recognize private ownership as having equal rights with collective ownership, and the reluctance to comprehend the need for trade capital as an independent link in the market could, unfortunately, turn perestroyka into a version of repairing the old, deadlocked system.

Realization that economic pluralism is the real basis for all other freedoms is still not universal or even large-scale. I believe that this is perestroyka's critical point, which will determine its victory or its defeat. Nevertheless, the gradual establishment of new economic thinking, connected with acknowledgement of the destructiveness of the old path of development based on the universal nationalization of vital resources, should be considered an achievement of perestroyka. The idea of privatization and use of private ownership is no longer rejected as decisively as it was before.

The problem is that the task of making the transition to a market economy has been made the responsibility of bureaucratic circles, which have no wish to chop off the administrative-edict bough on which they are perched. The people, worn out by inflation and shortages of even ordinary, everyday goods and rapidly becoming disillusioned with perestroyka because of the absence of concrete results, are still being presented with slogans: power to the soviets, factories to the workers, land to the peasants, peace for the peoples, free self-determination for nations. And, of course, social rights: to work, education, medical care.... True, it is unclear why these slogans have retained their topicality over the course of seven decades, being on the one hand "the strongpoints of perestroyka thinking and morality," according to the CPSU Central Committee Platform for the 28th CPSU Congress, and on the other representative of "the real contribution of the party and the people to the progress of our own country and all mankind." Is it really possible to put forward objectives which still have to be struggled for and which, at the same time, are already embodied? And what concrete forms does this embodiment take?

But—this is the main point—is it really possible to proclaim diversity of forms of ownership as the economic basis of citizens' freedom, the workers' real choice of the forms and methods of applying their abilities, and the guarantee of consumers' rights and interests while at the same time excluding private ownership and hired labor, which have always been the most powerful incentive for human progress? Evidently, the comparative experience of the GDR and the FRG, South Korea and the DPRK, Czechoslovakia and Austria, the Baltic and Finland, Bulgaria and Greece, China and Taiwan, and Vietnam and Thailand is not enough for us.

One can only be amazed at the ploys sometimes adopted by "orthodox Marxists," who still hate private ownership, to avoid noticing the doss-houses and volunteer-run canteens offering free cups of soup opening in the USSR of late, the millions of unemployed and the homelessness, and the charitable offerings sent us in the form of wheelchairs, medicine, and food from Western countries.

The enemies of the market pin all our misfortunes on perestroyka rather than the Stalinist-Brezhnevite system, as if until 1985 a prosperous people held sway and the USSR was a thriving oasis in a world of poverty and depression. They see the creation of a more refined system of administrative-based economic management as the way out of the crisis. The old fables about redistribution as the basic means of approaching the "communist paradise" are being heard again.

A very important result of perestroyka is the USSR's transformation into a country overflowing with democracy: tempestous rallies, political passions, parliamentary battles, a nascent multiparty system.... The main

thing—a political system in formation. I stress a political system in formation, since a genuine political system exists where there is legal expression, a confrontation of different social interests, and open means exist for them to come up against one another and be combined and compromises achieved. It exists where there is a choice of different development options, an opposition that forms a natural counterbalance to official power, and where finally power itself is not just based on laws but is capable of being regularly changed and depends on the will of the people. A party's strength resides not in its claims to a vanguard role or narrow class- or group-based aspirations, but in the search for the optimum means of ensuring the people's common interests and in solidarity. We are as yet just at the inception of the kind of pluralism which mankind has struggled to achieve over centuries and whose moral values he has realized only in the second half of the 20th century.

Overcoming the party monopoly lies at the heart of the present political changes in the USSR. The Communist Party's power, based on control of the state organs, ruled out any legal political or ideological variety, and all attempts to demarcate the functions of party and state apparatus were fruitless. To all intents and purposes the ruling party became from the outset (once established in power) the state party, the party in charge, and its apparatus stood in opposition to the people. Even now, when the party has been forced (verbally for the moment) to give up its monopoly of power and acknowledge the multiparty system, it is doing so only under pressure while maintainig an aristocratic disdain for other political forces.

There already exist in the country in reality a host of parties in the shape of people's fronts and alternative movements, up to and including protoparties (constitutional and liberal democrats, anarchosyndicalists, social democrats...), yet the CPSU Platform merely "does not preclude the possibility" of their creation. The CPSU is "ready for political dialogue," but only with those who "advocate the renewal of socialist society," while reserving the authoritarian right to "punish and pardon" on the basis of threadbare criteria.

The struggle against conservative forces in society and in the party, which manifested themselves so defiantly in a number of speeches at recent CPSU Central Committee plenums, is difficult and far from assured of success. The apparatus' rationing out of transformations has already caused the CPSU to lag behind the pace of reforms. Yet the present Central Committee urges us to get to grips with not those who are slowing down perestroyka but with the "ideological vacillation" and "lack of ideological discrimination."

We have also become different in the sphere of public awareness, where ideological dogmas are being destroyed. Removing the external barriers to the expression of ideas means initiating the transfer of the fruits of thinking from "private" ownership to the people, making individual spiritual and intellectual wealth the property of all. (Incidentally, as far as the extent of freedom of expression is concerned we have also proven less socialized than our neighbors in the civilized world). Glasnost as a synonym of a certain openness, which was conferred on the country "from above," is far from being identical in content with freedom of expression. Yet glasnost, which has entered many languages in the world along with "perestroyka," has rapidly gathered momentum, washing away in a cleansing stream the rouge and powder applied to the face of the world's "most humane" and "most democratic" system.

But a taste for rights and freedoms is formed not only through the jettisoning of ideological escort riders. It is formed and strengthened among the masses if it is accompanied by a growth in prosperity, about which it is still premature to speak. The intoxication of renewal, impatience, and a desire for an immediate return from the changes under way also play a role in the critical assessment of perestroyka. The new type of development needs new politicians, businessmen, and financiers as well as a new type of worker who is resourceful and capable of taking risks and who possesses get-up-and-go, knowledge of the laws of the market and competition, and a sense of innovation. Therein reside perhaps perestroyka's greatest difficulties.

Working people in our country have to overturn the idea that it is easier for peoples to bear the enforced burden of slavery than the gift of excessive freedom. Although we are not yet threatened by excessive freedom, let us hope that it is this change in public awareness that will form the main barrier to the restoration of superannuated forms of life. The fever pitch of the struggle over future social development indicates that an ideological revolution is nevertheless taking place in Soviet people's minds. And it is taking place on the basis of the truth about the way civilized people live and on the brink of a catastrophe facing us.

Do you not think, dear readers, that A.I. Herzen was writing here about us as contemporaries more than a century ago: "The new times affected everyone—government, literature, society, the people; there was much that was clumsy, insincere, and confused, but people did nevertheless feel that we were on the move: A start had been made and we were on our way. A mute country learned to speak, a country of official secrecy learned openness [glasnost], and a country of serfdom learned to grumble about the collar it wore. The government, like pilgrims to Jerusalem who have sinned too much, took three steps forward and then two steps back, but that one step did nevertheless remain. The party of fools and old men was in despair, the advocates of serfdom pretended to be constitutional liberals...."

The people always harbor within themselves the ability to create something new when forced by circumstances to make radical changes and to cast off the force that fetters them. The forms that such an awakening of the people takes—civilized or revolutionary and rebellious—is another matter. We are now reaping the tragic

consequences of those latter forms. It is, therefore, impermissible that April's bracing winds should turn into an October hurricane.

Krutov Marks Anniversary of Lenin's Birth

LD2204165690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 22 Apr 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast, presented by Aleksandr Krutov]

[Text] Today is 22 April, Lenin's birthday. We connect the creation of the Soviet state with the name of this man. To a great extent, the sharp swings in politics, and the opening up of archives and special depositories have forced people to look in a fresh way at the actions of the party of the Bolsheviks and its leader, Vladimir Ilyich Lenin.

Today criticisms of Lenin are heard more and more often, from the right and the left. If until very recently many people swore their loyalty to the cause of Lenin, today with equal facility they renounce him, attribute all errors to him, and remove monuments to him.

However, let us say frankly to ourselves: We are not very familiar with the genuine Lenin, his works, and his activity. Yet his last works show that he was a person clearly aware of the situation, who was able to reconsider fundamentally his whole view of socialism. We, who have made an icon of him, have lost the real Lenin.

Leninist Methodology and Perestroyka Discussed

PM2304083190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 21 Apr 90 First Edition p 1

[Unattributed report: "Checking Our Lives Against Lenin"]

[Text] A scientific and practical conference on "Lenin's Methodological Legacy and Perestroyka" held in Moscow today was devoted to reviving the creative nature of Leninism as a scientific method for interpreting reality and for transforming various spheres of society's present-day life.

It was noted that Leninist methodology is an important tool for analyzing the social, economic, political, ideological, and spiritual aspects of the renewal of socialism. We cannot do without it in researching the development of the Soviet federation, and in objectively interpreting Soviet history.

Presidential Decree Honors Sportsman

LD2204212790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 22 Apr 90

[Excerpt] I should like to start with sincere congratulations to one of our favorite and most respected sports personalities, with congratulations to (Nikolay Petrovich Starostin). Here is a decree of the USSR president conferring the title of Hero of Socialist Labor upon Merited Master of Sports (Nikolay Petrovich Starostin) for his outstanding services in the development and promotion of Soviet sport—the decree states—and his fruitful public activity. [passage omitted]

Antinuclear Movement Set Up in North

LD2304190390 Moscow TASS International Service in Russian 1220 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Vladimir Anufriyev]

[Excerpts] Arkhangelsk, 23 Apr (TASS)—A consolidation of forces advocating a nuclear-free north and an end to nuclear test throughout the world—such is the aim of a public committee that has been set up here, "Novaya Zemlya-Nevada." It was founded by nongovernment organizations—the Arkhangelsk Peace Committee and the branch of the Soviet Peace Fund located in this port town on the White Sea. [passage omitted]

Test sites have existed on the Arctic islands for a long time. In the early fifties the nomadic reindeer breeders, the Nentsy, who had lived since ancient times in these extremely poor and severe territories, were moved from here to the mainland. Up until 1963, when the nuclear powers signed a treaty to end nuclear tests in three kinds of environment, lethal explosions were carried out here directly in the atmosphere.

Expedition Plane Crashes in Chukchi Peninsula

LD2404083190 Moscow TASS in English 0709 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 24 TASS—A Soviet AN-2 aircraft crashed in the Chukchi peninsula, killing one of the six people aboard, the SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA newspaper reports today.

It was a bright spring day. Crews of two AN-2 aircraft, according to an agreement with the Soviet-U.S. "Big Arctic Circle" expedition, were to carry the expedition from Schmidt Cape to the settlement of Lavrentiya.

One aircraft headed for the south, the other was on the runway, getting ready for take off. After it gained a height of 20 to 30 meters and after flying for about a minute, the aircraft lost speed and fell on the ice.

Borderguards, who arrived at the scene, rendered first aid to the victims and managed to prevent an explosion.

The expedition's navigator was killed. The expedition also lost four dogs.

A USSR Civil Aviation Ministry commission is investigating.

English Version of IZVESTIYA Published

PM2404130190 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 20 Apr 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report: "Latest Issue of IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS"]

[Text] The fourth issue of the journal IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS has been published and is being distributed to subscribers. It opens with information on the work of the party's Central Committee in March 1990 and on the CPSU Central Committee March plenum decisions and with new resolutions of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and Secretariat.

A considerable part of the issue is taken up by the stenographic report of the CPSU Central Committee plenum held 9 December 1989. As is known, that plenum examined questions of the Second Congress of USSR People's Deputies, formed the Russian Bureau of the CPSU Central Committee, nominated candidate USSR people's deputies from the CPSU, adopted the CPSU Central Committee appeal in connection with the elections to republic and local soviets, and decided organizational questions.

A routine information report on the work of the CPSU Central Committee Party Control Committee describes the discussion of the results of checking the fulfillment by communist leaders of the decisions on the development of the material and technical base of the social sphere and on the production of disposable syringes, the results of a study of the practice of examining personnel affairs and communists' appeals in Voroshilovgrad Oblast party organization, and the examination of 30 appeals.

The section "Toward the 28th CPSU Congress" is represented by a further roundup of suggestions received at the Central Committee relating to the new CPSU Statutes and reports on the progress of the precongress debate in Kazakh party organizations.

The issue includes statistical data on the composition of the CPSU as of 1 January 1990, information on the reception of visitors by members and candidate members of the CPSU Central Committee, a resolution of the Ukrainian Communist Party Central Committee Secretariat on a political assessment of the political actions of CPSU members involved in setting up the Ukrainian Peasant Democratic Party, reports on the elections and approval of party workers and on the CPSU's international ties, brief biographies of leaders of communist, workers, revolutionary democratic, and national democratic parties, and rare photographic documents. Responding to readers' questions, the journal carries a chronicle of the work of the party's top organs during 1985-1990 and provides information on the development of so-called informal organizations in the country.

The archive section of the issue includes a chronicle of the activity of the party's Central Committee in the second half of October 1919. For the 120th anniversary of V.I. Lenin's birth it carries 14 new documents by Vladimir Ilich relating to 1920-1922, including correspondence with N.N. Krestinskiy, V.M. Molotov, L.D. Trotskiy, and G.V. Chicherin and other documents. The rubric "From the History of the Great Patriotic War" is represented by documents from 1940-1941: a USSR KGB memorandum and agents' reports on Germany's preparations for war and on the proposed date for the commencement of hostilities.

An English-language version of the journal IZVESTIYA TSK KPSS has begun to be published in the United States. The publication, which is distributed on subscription, contains translations of the journal's materials and appears in two parts—"Current USSR Policy" and "USSR Political Archives."

The journal is being published in accordance with an agreement between the CPSU Central Committee's "PRAVDA" Publishing House and the U.S. firm of Nova Science Publishers, concluded with the assistance of the All-Union Copyright Agency.

New Ecological Journal Published

LD2304082290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0700 GMT 23 Apr 90

[Summary] EKHO [Echo], a journal of ecological glasnost, went on sale for the first time today. The first issue carries a report from the sealed zone around Chernobyl. Other items deal with the problems of the Gornyy Altay and the burial of radioactive waste. The journal will be published every quarter. Each issue costs R3.

Economic

Ryzhkov Discusses Transition to Market Economy

LD2604201990 Moscow TASS in English 2004 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow Apil 26 TASS—The government should complete the elaboration of basic documents on a transition to a planned market economy by the middle of May and report them to the USSR Supreme Soviet, Soviet Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov, who visited a number of Moscow enterprises today, told Soviet television.

Ryzhkov paid attention to the fact that people are inadequately informed and draw on every kind of bits and scraps of information and on rumors and that all this brings about a "very nervous and abnormal atmosphere."

This is why the documents that are now being elaborated will be published, he emphasised.

"To think that transition to market relations will create opportunities that will be absolutely equal for everyone is wrong," Ryzhkov said. "A system should be created to

ensure the social protection of pensioners, students, children, low-income families and those with many children."

As far as another proportion of the population is concerned, i.e. those with a potential to earn more, a system should be set up for them to be stimulated to work, earn more, and be able to fully use all that money, Ryzhkov emphasised.

New Trade Union Council Chairman Elected

904F0134A Moscow TRUD in Russian
18 Apr 90 p 1

[Report: "On the Plenum of the All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions"]

[Text] The eighth AUCCTU [All-Union Central Council of Trade Unions] Plenum began its work yesterday in Moscow.

The plenum examined an organizational issue. It discharged S.A. Shalayev from his duties as AUCCTU chairman and member of the AUCCTU Presidium at his personal request in connection with his retirement. The plenum expressed gratitude to S.A. Shalayev for his fruitful work over many years in the trade unions.

The names of four candidates for election to the position of AUCCTU chairman were submitted. As a result of discussion and voting, G.I. Yanayev, who had served as deputy AUCCTU chairman, was elected AUCCTU chairman.

The plenum examined the question "On Convocation of the 19th USSR Trade Union Congress." AUCCTU Chairman G.I. Yanayev delivered an address, which appears on page 2.

Taking part in the debate on this address were M.B. Ikharlov, chairman of the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Textile and Light Industry Workers; A.M. Kovalevskiy, chairman of the Ukrainian Republic Council of Trade Unions; V.V. Kuzmenok, chairman of the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Fishing Industry Workers; G.I. Yeremey, chairman of the Moldavian Republic Council of Trade Unions; S.O. Mukashev, deputy chairman of the Kazakh Republic Council of Trade Unions; V.G. Dybel, trade union committee chairman of the "BelavtoMAZ" Belorussian Production Association for Heavy- Cargo Motor Vehicles; G. Dzhaparova, chairman of Mary Oblast Council of Trade Unions; I.Ye. Klochkov, AUCCTU deputy chairman and chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Federation of Independent Trade Unions; A.A. Silin, chairman of the Latvian Republic Council of Trade Unions; L.M. Vernigora, chairman of the Poltava Oblast Council of Trade Unions; V.I. Goncharik, chairman of the Belorussian Republic Council of Trade Unions; R.A. Papilov, chairman of the Central Committee of the Trade Union of Workers in Public Education and Science; Kh. Alimova, chairman of the Uzbek Republic Council of Trade Unions; V.G. Gamayunov, chairman of the Donetsk Oblast Council of Trade Unions; and N.I. Khanbalayev, chairman of the Dagestan Oblast Council of Trade Unions.

AUCCTU Chairman G.I. Yanayev closed the meeting and answered questions from plenum participants.

The plenum adopted the resolution "On Convocation of the 19th USSR Trade Union Congress."

The next session of the eighth AUCCTU Plenum will convene 14 May 1990.

Taking part in the work of the plenum were G.P. Razumovskiy, candidate member of the Politburo of the CPSU Central Committee and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, and O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

More Rapid Approach to Market Prices Urged

904A0266A Moscow EKONOMIKA I ZHIZN in Russian No 12, Mar 90 pp 4-5

[Article by Professor V. Senchagov: "Arithmetic Calculations Would Not Do in Politics"]

[Text] Our transition to a market economy is sometimes interpreted in a highly simplified manner and reduced to individual measures. However, the point is that it is a multifaceted, comprehensive process that is inseparable from other transformations in our society. The market should be compatible with genuine planning, forecasting, the peculiarities of human motivation, various forms of ownership, and, of course, the political system.

The still limited experience of operation of individual elements of the market in our country gained through the creation of cooperatives and contract-price practices shows that market instruments begin to compromise themselves if such compatibility is not attained. Perhaps a segment of our society has developed an antimarket bias. This is why we should now ensure that the social benefits of the market as such are understood by our society or a considerable segment of it. I think that we should arrive at a joint theoretical position of various social forces regarding their views on the role of the market. So far there has been no such philosophy, and there have been very numerous differences in evaluating its significance and methods of transition.

The CPSU platform notes quite justly that finding a harmonious combination of planned and market methods of regulating economic operations is the most complex problem of the economic reform. The platform sets the task of creating an efficient planned-market economy; it dwells at length on the content of the "plan-market" formula.

Embarking on this discussion, I believe that it is more proper to refer to the formula "market—forecast—plan." Why? Because a plan should be based on a forecast, for which the market situation should be

well known first. After all, the market contains real information. It is known that the plan is a scientific forecast of the future status of an economy, and it is not necessarily translated into reality.

The fact that the subjective interests of planners and politicians in many cases prevail over the objective reality is not the only point. It is more complicated than that. There is a tremendous difference between the reality, the natural course of development in an economy, and its development in the long run. While growing out of the present, the future is also probabilistic in nature. The economists who plan the development of the national economy and strive to accomplish sociopolitical tasks are guided in many cases by categorical necessity, and treat our reality and the objective laws of development with unpardonable ease. Sometimes a future is forced on the national economy in the absence of a sufficiently profound analysis of the trends of its development, a future that is not present even in embryonic form.

In our discourse about the primacy of the plan or the market and the way in which they interconnect, if at all, we should also keep in mind the historical experience of our planning.

From the vantage point of this analysis we should say bluntly that the market is primary as a reality with which we are endowed and which contains both the comprehended and uncomprehended truth about the life of society. In turn, the plan which is based on the market is secondary; it may serve as a means to transform the life of society only to a certain degree, to the degree to which it is possible to realize the profound foundations of social development and trends and rules of the market economy. In short the plan, as a means for reasonable, flexible actions which include correcting the negative aspects of the market, is embodied in a new condition of the market. This is why the formula "market—forecast—plan—market" is more precise. We should plan by studying the rules of the market, proceed toward a forecast, and determine some provisions of the plan, including the planks of a price policy, on the basis of the forecast.

An analysis of prices and the factors involved in their changes should be an organic part of both the forecast and the plan. As the CPSU platform notes, restructuring the system of price-setting is a necessary condition for the implementation of market adjustments in the economy. Indeed, the prices are the most significant, if not definitive, part of market adjustments.

Our experience shows that in the absence of a reliable system of prices the functioning of many elements of market adjustment becomes difficult.

This applies to the development of trade, cooperatives, and joint enterprises. Here is just one example: Our inordinately low prices for fuel and energy resources and metals—including gold—have brought about a considerable share of these resources being intensively exported by cooperatives. Even the customs service does not always succeed in preventing these operations.

Consequently, all price setting measures should agree with the system of taxation, credit and monetary policy, and measures aimed at adjusting the currency exchange rate. Thus, in the absence of linkage with the taxation system, raising or reducing prices influences the behavior of enterprises to a very small degree. The reason is that in this instance the incentive mechanism of enterprises does not work. After all, the increment of profits or income secured due to say increasing prices goes to general distribution channels and does not affect in a major way the interests of the enterprise or its desire to modernize its technology and products. Under a unified tax rate, toward which we are advancing, the flexibility and elasticity of prices increase substantially and the response of enterprises to effective demand is strengthened.

However, this is not enough either. A market of the means of production is necessary. In the absence of a market of the means of production, all additional "doses" of profits secured due to increasing prices for efficient products will not be able to become capital investments; it will not be possible to invest them or embody them in goods and services.

To be sure, there ought to be one more channel for investing profits—a securities market. If the goods needed are not available there should be bonds or shares which may be purchased for additional profits secured due to price changes.

A system of shareholding and regional economic accountability cannot be developed, and an equivalent exchange between regions cannot be ensured in the absence of a well-founded price system. The issue of interrepublic exchange has become extremely grave, and in the absence of new prices suspicions will keep developing that someone is winning and someone else is losing unjustifiably.

What does the reform of price setting amount to? This means primarily revising wholesale, procurement, and retail prices in a comprehensive manner. To what end? In order to even out this system on the basis of certain principles. A more complete accounting for real costs and payments for resources is one of such principles. The other principle is associated with bringing the prices closer to price ratios on the world market. Bringing the entire system into compliance with the requirements of the market, reflecting demand and supply, is the third principle.

There also are proposals for "creeping," gradual price changes. An analytical calculation shows that in this case the reform can be spread out over several decades. Our analysis brought us to the conclusion that it is still feasible to unshackle the entire system and skillfully combine state prices with free and regulated prices while boosting the role of the latter sharply and at once. As is known, the USSR Congress of People's Deputies has set

a deadline: A reform of wholesale and procurement prices needs to be implemented in 1991. Preparations for this are being completed. However, this is but a part of the reform of price setting, of which retail prices are the most complex point. Why? Because it is very difficult to implement reform of retail prices without the consent of our society, public organizations, and democratic movements.

Realizing the need for reform of setting retail prices is also a part of the more general problem of getting used to the market. The party has set the most important conditions for implementing this reform. At issue is compensating the populace, primarily its low-income groups, for the rising cost of living associated with price increases. However, as of now there is no consensus as to the future of existing retail prices. It seems to many people that it will be better to change nothing and maintain the payment of subsidies, especially for the products of animal husbandry. However, it is understandable that the subsidy fund increases greatly along with the growth of the volume of production. Even now subsidies claim 20 percent of budgetary expenditures, and will soon account for about 30 percent. This is simply inconceivable for a normally operating budget.

Of course, certain prerequisites are necessary for the reform of price setting. First of all, the availability of merchandise for meeting effective demand, the initial demand-and-supply equilibrium. Sometimes they say that the issue may be raised in a different manner: Regular market prices should be introduced in order to attain such a balance. Indeed, such an approach is possible if we take into account the volume of unsatisfied demand—R165 billion, the state debt—R400 billion, the considerable amount put into circulation last year—R18 billion, and the impressive size of the budget deficit—R92 billion.

If the new retail prices are to ensure equilibrium we should abandon the principle of complete compensation for the increasing cost of living due to a sharp jump in inflation. Is our society prepared for this turn of events? After all, in this event the reform will initially entail a lower standard of living.

However, we may also raise the issue in a different manner: Is there another realistic way? It would seem that there is—ration cards, rationed supplies. Some people are inclined to believe that through ration cards a certain standard of consumption can be ensured for all strata of the population. This is an illusion. Even if it is possible, then firstly at an extreme, minimal level, and secondly only for a segment of the populace (retirees, students). The other segment of the populace should buy goods at high commercial prices. Would it not be better to introduce unified state retail prices that are in line with both demand and supply, or to introduce free prices, that is, give trade enterprises the right to set such prices with state organs retaining the right for the most significant foodstuffs only.

In essence, a new social policy is needed in this case: First, the objective nature of the growth of prices as a necessary element of stabilizing the economy should be recognized, and, second, new social stabilizers need to be introduced in the form of indexing the incomes of low-income population groups, retirement pay, and benefits. Other members of society will have to pay in terms of their extra labor effort for the abundance of merchandise which the market economy will create. This issue needs to be studied in detail.

The state program for reinvigorating the economy also envisages other measures which affect both supply and demand. Thus, efforts are being made to develop cooperatives, small enterprises, and joint enterprises with a view to expanding the production of consumer goods; the import policy is being put to work, and so on.

A lot is being done in order to adjust demand, because the problem will not be solved by merely augmenting the mass of merchandise. We should also take into account the condition of the monetary system, which leads to the view that monetary reform is inevitable. However, monetary reform in the format that has been proposed—exchanging money in excess of a certain amount or by introducing a parallel currency unit—will not work. A couple years later, the excessive mass of money will accumulate again, and imbalances in the consumer market will appear.

The experience of history shows that monetary reforms are successful in an environment of economic growth, primarily that of agriculture, extensive development of contacts in the foreign market, and attracting foreign capital. Thus far, such conditions do not exist in our country. This is exactly why it is more appropriate to make price reform a priority.

Under the conditions that have emerged it would be good to boost the propensity to save in order "to draw away" money from the market. To this end the role of interest needs to be enhanced, and the interest rate paid on deposits needs to be raised. However, this proposal has not gained support. The apprehension is that the state's expenditure in interest payments will go up sharply.

However, I believe that a purely arithmetic approach would not work in politics. The interest rate operates only as an element affecting behavior. This means that it is not possible to calculate the loss only arithmetically, without taking into account its positive contribution to the savings business and the organization of our entire monetary circulation. This is point one. Secondly, the interest rate on loans still testifies to the value of the money as such. At present, we have a very low interest rate on deposits and bank loans, and all of that against the background of growing amounts in circulation. We should approach the rates in a highly assured and balanced manner, taking into account the real ratio of demand and supply in the market of loan capital. Still, issuing bonds and shares with a view to normalizing

monetary circulation and freezing the now hollow money will possibly be less effective than increasing to this end the interest rates on people's deposits.

This would be an effective measure. We cannot fail to take into account the fact that the savings institutions inspire confidence and that we continuously register above-plan increments of deposits. The assets of the Savings Bank will be built up if the interest rate is raised.

Of course, we cannot count on the rich; however, there has been such an attempt—to raise the rate of interest only for those who have had a deposit for a long time: for 5 or 10 years. Still, we need to count on the bulk of the people. The depositors will contribute small sums of money on an individual basis; however, on the whole these will definitely amount to sizable funds. Besides, this will be the first manifestation of confidence in the monetary system, which is also quite important in our situation of economic disequilibrium.

While preparing for the reform, we are beginning to use the market elements of price setting right away. For example, market prices are essentially being introduced for fruit and vegetable products everywhere. As a result we are encountering tremendous price increases, by a factor of 2, 3, or even more. However, even this is not cause for concern. The worst point is that the producers are not at all responding to the growth of prices by increasing production or the volume of supply. This is where the absence of an appropriate tax system and the inveterate burden of subsidies becomes a factor. This is why, given our distorted market, local soviets had to be allowed to put a cap on prices of fruit and vegetable products.

In the system of wholesale prices, it was resolved to increase prices this year on a one-time basis for diesel fuel only, and to raise tariffs for transportation, taking into account the ratios of the world market. However, this decision ran into the most stubborn resistance from enterprises, which pointed out the deterioration of their financial situation, due to which the price and tariff increases had to be compensated for. Raising the issue in this manner was reasonable to a degree. If diesel fuel prices and transportation tariffs grow, increasing the price of other types of products should also be allowed. If this is not done, a tremendous burden of growing costs will affect individual goods, and a disruption in production will begin.

The experience of changing prices for fruit and vegetable products and fuel makes it possible to conclude that we cannot proceed toward the market by merely creating market islands with regard to individual goods. At any rate, mutually substitutable types of goods should be included in the process of creating the market. This is a very important aspect.

A resolution on developing wholesale trade and setting up special wholesale and brokerage centers that are allowed to set commercial prices for the products manufactured on top of the state order was adopted taking into account the interdependence of prices. A cap on such prices was also set—no more than two times higher than the state price list. However, two prices for the same product may facilitate speculation. It would be better to have unified market prices, with the same person setting them and responsible for this to the consumer.

Further steps toward the market include envisaging a price policy in the forecast and the plan whereby the state will not maintain fixed state prices but will gradually increase them. Otherwise, we will not eliminate structural distortions in the economy. On the other hand, producers themselves will set prices for a large group of goods, freely or within certain bounds. A list of such goods should be specified by the state. We should do something and very soon expand the share products for which the enterprises may set prices on their own. I believe that we should consider how the transition to the market can be intensified and accelerated. Market prices are very much unlike those in a kolkhoz [collective farm] market. These prices are regulated, but not only through their direct confirmation by the state organs of price setting, not only administratively but also indirectly—through the banking policy, taxes, and creation of merchandise reserves of the goods for which the greatest strain in the market and the growth of prices are registered. We should learn to take advantage skillfully of all such opportunities to influence the movement of prices in the interest of developing the economy and every individual.

Official Says Oil Obligations To Be Fulfilled

LD2604174190 Moscow TASS in English 1648 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—The Soviet Union will be able to fulfil its obligations for oil exports even if Mazeikiai Refinery in Lithuania stops working, a spokesman of the Soviet Soyuzneft export Foreign Economic Association told TASS today.

Mazeikiai Refinery produces some seven per cent of the oil products exported by the Soviet Union. There is an opportunity to raise production capacity at some refineries in the Russian Federation and other republics without losing quality, he said.

As for possible halting of oil and oil products' shipment via the Lithuanian port of Klaipeda, such shipments can be carried out via other ports—Leningrad, Murmansk, Odessa and Novorossiysk, believes the management of the Soviet association. Last year only 4.7 per cent of exported oil and oil products were sent via Klaipeda.

Scientific

Molniya-1 Communications Satellite Launched

LD2604142590 Moscow TASS in English 1324 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—Yet another Molniya-1 communications satellite was launched in the Soviet

Union today. It is designed to ensure the operation of the long-distance telephone and telegraph radio communications system and the transmission of the programs of the Soviet Central Television network to the stations of the orbita network.

The satellite was put into a high elliptical orbit by a Molniya booster rocket. The orbit is in an apogee is 40.747 kilometres in the northern hemisphere and a perigee of 654 kilometres in the southern hemisphere. The satellite's orbital period is 12 hours 16 minutes and orbital inclination is 62.8 degrees.

Communications sessions via the Molniya-1 satellite will be carried out in accordance with a pre-set program.

Telethon Raises Funds for Chernobyl Victims

Over R3 Million Donated

LD2504215890 Moscow TASS in English 2029 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—By TASS special correspondents Alexandras Budris and Kirill Dibrova:

More than R3 million have been donated to the account of a 24-hour telethon that has just begun in Moscow's Rossiya Concert Hall in an effort to raise funds for victims of the 1986 Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident.

Losses from the accident and efforts to eliminate its aftermath have cost more than R9 billion.

Donations from the telethon, organised by the Soviet Peace Fund, came from Soviet and foreign citizens. Several charity organisations and individuals in the United States, Japan, and Western Europe have sent large sums of money.

The organising committee plans to hold a news conference after the telethon. It will also regularly inform the press about the way the raised money is used.

The account at the Soviet Vnesheconombank for foreign currency donations is 70500003.

Millions Watching

LD2604011790 Moscow TASS in English 2338 GMT 26 Apr 90

[By TASS Special Correspondent]

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—Only three hours have passsed since the beginning of a 24-hour telethon, but more than R5 million and large sums in foreign currency have already been donated to its account.

This charity programme organised by the Soviet Peace Fund and other Soviet public movements is taking place on the eve of the fourth anniversary of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident and is designed to give moral and material aid to the Chernobyl victims.

The Soviet peace fund has donated R4.5 million to the telethon. They will be used for buying special food for children. Separate individuals have transferred a total of R715,000 to the telethon's account.

One of the first currency contributions worth Y1 million was donated by the owner of four Japanese oncology clinics Maki Shimoda. Twenty five thousand dollars were contributed by American Pastor Robert Shuller.

Tom McDowell, president of the American branch of the "Chernobyl" Union addressed the U.S. TV viewers with a proposal to set up the "Chernobyl superfund." The "Chernobyl" Union is raising funds and collecting medicines and equipment in the United States and Canada to help the Chernobyl victims.

Millions of people are watching the telethon in the Soviet Union and abroad. Its live broadcasting is being carried out by the world leading television companies—CNN (USA), Skychannel (Britain), The British Broadcasting Corporation, and etc.

The telethon is televised to other continents through American satellites.

Progress of Telethon

LD2604082790 Moscow TASS in English 0438 GMT 26 Apr 90

[by TASS special correspondents]

[Text] Moscow April 26 TASS—A huge map of the radiation situation in the European USSR hangs in the foyer of Moscow's of Moscow's Rossiya Concert Hall where the "Chernobyl" telethon is in progress. Even a cursory glance is enough to understand the real dimensions of the tragedy which struck the Soviet Union four years ago.

A blue area on the map representing contaminated regions and districts of the Ukraine. Belorussia and the Russian Federation covers a territory larger than many countries.

It covers not only many hundreds of thousands of hectares of contaminated forests, croplands and lakes but also millions of people who live in constant fear of invisible danger.

Nearly 4 million people now live on the contaminated territory. As many as 260.000 of them must be urgently evacuated.

This map and some other documents were thoroughly discussed by the USSR Supreme Soviet on Wednesday. The Soviet parliament adopted a state Chernobyl aid program and approved action plans for union republics.

However, the Chernobyl disaster is a tragedy not only of the Soviet people but a concern for all mankind, as was repeatedly stressed in the telethon.

This problem cannot be resolved by one nation. Therefore, millions of people throughout the world display concern for the destiny of Chernobyl victims, which is corroborated by numerous telegrams to the telethon organizing committee.

A telex from the Belgian East-West Agency reads: "We transfer 50,000 francs to Chernobyl aid fund." The Hungarian Monimpex enterprise transferred over $2,000. The staffers of the USSR State committee on Hydrometeorology donated more than R300,000.

But people want to help not only with money. The Italian Farmindustria firm is ready to immediately ship a "considerable quantity of medicines."

The bee-keeping institute from the city of Ryazan (central Russia) offered 500 kilograms of honey, and the Kazakhstan Peace Committee—500 kilograms of ecologically clean fruit.

People from all over the world are creating a new map at the Rossiya Concert Hall these hours, a map of charity and mutual assistance. They believe that their goodwill and selflessness will help save thousands of human lives and that they will erase the sinister "blue" Chernobyl by common effort.

The telethon began six hours ago. New donations from many countries are pouring in to hard currency account No. 70500003 opened by the telethon organizing committee at the USSR Vneshekonombank.

Baltic Republics

Mitterrand, Kohl Urge Vilnius-Moscow Talks

LD2604230690 Moscow TASS in English 2252 GMT 26 Apr 90

[By TASS correspondent Sergey Batyrev]

[Text] Paris April 27 TASS—French President Francois Mitterrand and West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl sent a message to Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Chairman Vytautas Landsbergis, calling him to suspend for some time the decision on the unilateral declaration of Lithuanian independence, adopted by the Lithuanian parliament on March 11.

They emphasise that this move could facilitate the beginning of a dialogue between Vilnius and Moscow.

The decision to send the message was made during the French-West German summit meeting, which ended on Thursday. The text of the letter was made public by the Elysee Palace.

Expressing concern over the development of the situation in Lithuania, the French and West German leaders note that history generated a complex situation. Lithuania has diverse ties of the political, legal and economic nature with the Soviet Union. Time and patience are needed to rupture these ties. In so doing, classical ways of dialogue should be followed.

Mitterrand and Kohl said they wanted Moscow and Vilnius to begin a talk as soon as possible for the present crisis to be capped with a solution acceptable to all parties.

The text of the message was simultaneously sent to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev.

Landsbergis To Study Letter

AU2704105090 Paris AFP in English 0950 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Francis Curta report]

[Text] Vilnius, April 27 (AFP)—Lithuania's hopes that international pressure might force the Soviet Union to the negotiating table were fast receding Friday after both France and West Germany appealed to the Baltic republic to suspend its declaration of independence.

The appeal, contained in a joint letter sent by French president Francois Miterrand and West German Chancellor Helmut Kohl to Lithuanian President Vytautas Landsbergis, urged the breakway republic to suspend for a while the effects of the March 11 declaration of independence.

The move went much further than recent statements by the European Economic Community which had called on Vilnius and Moscow to enter into negotiations.

And it also came shortly after U.S. President George Bush, counselling caution, had himself failed to announce any sanctions against Moscow for the economic blockade of Lithuania, which was in its eighth day Friday.

Putting on a brave face, Mr. Landsbergis said in a statement that he would "carefully study" the Franco-German letter, adding that he viewed it as "a step forward toward realisation of Lithuanian independence as the solution to an international problem".

Bu. a few hours earlier he had told a press conference he was still hoping that international pressure would force Moscow to open talks about implementing the independence declaration.

"All the world tries to convince the Soviet Union" to engage in dialogue, "perhaps it has not yet used all its possibilities".

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev has made it clear, most recently in a speech in Sverdlovsk that he has no intention of negotiating with Lithuanians for as long as the Baltic republic does not, at the very least, suspend its declaration of independence.

Mr. Landsbergis Thursday acknowledged that his representative in Moscow had still not had any formal contact with Soviet officials.

Meanwhile the Lithuanian government has announced a series of measures to deal with the economic blockade mostly of raw materials and energy products.

All exports from the republic will have to be government approved and more rationing of basic products, including food is to be introduced.

The Soviet Union has also stopped providing Lithuania with newsprint and shortages of newspapers are expected.

About 10 large factories have already closed or are on short-time according to Kazimiras Antanavicius, head of the parliamentary economic commission.

Workers were being asked to take their holidays or were carrying out routine maintenance operations.

"The blockade situation is very dangerous as it makes people angry and threatens the very furture of the economy", Mr. Atanavicius told AGENCE FRANCE-PRESSE.

Meanwhile the government has set up a special phone line so that citizens can phone in their ideas on how to beat the blockade.

Lithuanians were busy stocking up with as much as they could from the shops, including staples such as flour and vegetable oil.

Truck Drivers Protest Independence Declaration

LD2704112490 Moscow TASS in English 1114 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Vilnius April 27 TASS—By TASS correspondent Boris Zverev:

Dozens of trucks blocked streets near the Lithuanian parliament in downtown Vilnius for two hours today, their drivers demanding that legislators disavov their declaration of independence, or resign.

The drivers' statement says the situation in the republic "gives rise to working people's concern and uncertainty about the future, as tens of factories have been shut down, leaving their staff without means of subsistence."

This was the first protest demonstration by working people after the Soviet Union cut off fuel supplies to the rebellious republic.

The drivers refused to yield to police demands to clear the streets, locking the cabins of their trucks and lying in front of the vehicles to prevent them from being moved.

Supporters of the Sajudis Popular Movement broke the cabins open and removed the trucks.

By-standers hurled insults at and threatened the protesters.

Upon completion of the demonstration, the drivers delivered to parliament an appeal to working people of the Soviet Union and the Republic, urging them to "strengthen the positions of Soviet power, preserve the socialist statehood of the Lithuanian people and achieve real sovereignty for the republic on the basis of a new federal treaty."

They said this was a "warning" action and that they would take "more serious measures", if their demands were not met.

Action Organized by Party

LD2704101290 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Excerpt] This morning, vehicles of some transportation enterprises were blocking traffic in Vilnius. This was noticed in seven different parts of the city, but did not interfere with the normal rhythm of traffic. It has been established that this action was organized by the CPSU city organization. Its demands were political. [passage omitted]

Situation Analyzed

LD2704125290

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1005 GMT on 27 April broadcasts an ELTA report from the government commission on adjusting the economic system which discusses the obstruction of traffic in seven areas of Vilnius during the morning of 27 April, saying the reason was a shortage of gasoline.

At the government commission meeting, Jurgis Ilekeviciuis, director of the Lithuanian enterprise for the supply of oil products and fuel, reported that the Vilnius motor transportation enterprises that serve the city and vital interests are being supplied with sufficient quantities of fuel. The case is being investigated.

Correspondent Guoda Salciute then interviews Vytautas Malenas, head of the Vilnius Third Motor Transportation Enterprise. Asked for his assessment of the situation, Milenas says: "There was an initiative from the party organization on the CPSU platform and the Unity [yedinstvo] movement. They organized; they were initiators; they adopted an appeal to other enterprises. They were supported in their actions by about 40 people having motor vehicles."

Milenas goes on to read a statement in Russian by the organizers of the action: "We, the participants in the action, demand that the Lithuanian Soviet Socialist Republic [SSR] Supreme Soviet fulfil the resolution of the Third Extraordinary Congress of the USSR People's Deputies and the demands of the USSR Presidium concerning the resolutions of the Lithuanian SSR Supreme Soviet passed at 10 March 1990."

Presenter Algirdas Usas then notes: "So, as we see, the CPSU organization in Lithuania has started going into politics with motor vehicles. Previously they were helped by paratroopers. This is a new form." "I do not know how this action will be tomorrow evaluated by the press, but this is a sabotage, as well as political and economic blackmail."

Ryzhkov on Conditions for Lithuanian Talks

LD2704141790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Interview with Nikolay Ivanovich Ryzhkov, chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, by an unidentified Lithuanian correspondent; place, date not given—live or recorded; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Correspondent] The blockade is already being implemented now, a blockade which is not directed against Lithuania's Supreme Council, but against its citizens. If you operate on the basis of the logic that the Union Constitution, the functioning of the Union Constitution, in Lithuania, and the rights of citizens are being defended, why is the blockade directed against all citizens?

[Ryzhkov] I shall ask you a question. Why do you adopt decisions which turn against citizens of the Soviet Union? If you had not adopted those decisions, we would not have committed such acts. If you have read attentively the last warning, which was signed by Comrade Gorbachev and Comrade Ryzhkov, it said, it stated three issues, three of them.

First, that you are introducing identity cards, Lithuanian ones, on your territory. That is a violation of the country's Constitution. After all, we know, we have read the accompanying oath. How can you do this? You are telling a person that he must obtain a card, and if he does not he will not receive a pension or a grant. Surely...[interviewer attempts to interrupt]...excuse me! Surely you cannot act like that? Is that not a violation of the Constitution? Is that not a violation of the rights of citizens?

Second, there exists constitutional law, the call-up to the Soviet Army. You have abolished it and are not granting the military commissariats the opportunity to function.

Third, there is Central Committee property, which it has the right to deal with. You have blocked it.

Therefore, we said, first: Cancel those three factors. Subsequently, it was written, at the end: Regarding everything else, let us return to 10 March, and we agree to negotiate with you, to sit down at the table, and we shall work with you and hold negotiations. There are no concessions, nothing at all, no compromises. [video shows Ryzhkov and interviewer amid a group of people in a lobby]

Report on Workers' Disunity at Klaipeda Yard

LD2704091890 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Report over video from the Baltiya shipyard in Klaipeda, Lithuania by correspondent S. Medvedev; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] [Medvedev] At this moment we are at the entrance of the "Baltiya" shipyard in Klaipeda. A month ago an armored troop carrier appeared. And now the military are on duty alongside the members of the armed guards.

As it became clear, the heads of the enterprise requested the troops soon after the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet adopted the decision to secede from the USSR. To make this clearer to viewers, I emphasize that the "Baltiya" yard is an enterprise of Union subordination. In general one might put this occurrence down as an amusing incident. It is hardly likely that anyone here is preparing to seize the yard by force. If one makes a further analysis of this step, it is an eloquent indication of the uncertainty of the heads of the union enterprises about their own fate and about the future of the collective with which they are entrusted.

[G.A. Kruk, director of Baltiya shipyard, identified by caption] I am subordinated to the Ministry of the Shipbuilding Industry. That is the first thing. Second, today no one has anything to do with us.

[Medvedev] What do you mean?

[Kruk] I mean that, in practice, after the declaration of independence, I did not have a single phone call and I was not asked to attend any kind of meeting. We are doing our own thing, so to speak.

[Medvedev] Although the yard is operating as before in spite of the restrictions on deliveries of petroleum products, it is using the fuel reserves. The atmosphere in the collective, as it is in many others, is fairly tense. [addresses unidentified worker] If the yard is handed over to the republic, what will you think about that?

[Worker] We workers regard that negatively, because....

[Second worker, interrupting] You speak for yourself. Why are you speaking for all of us? We, the workers from the yard, want the yard to be handed over to the republic.

[Medvedev, addressing second worker] What are mutual relations like at the present time at the enterprise? I can see that there are many people with differing points of view.

[Second worker] We are not attacking each other with our fists, but the attitude makes itself felt, naturally.

[Medvedev] Doesn't this hamper your work?

[Second worker] No, it does not prevent us from working.

[Unidentified female worker] It hampers us a lot.

[Third worker] No, no, politics do not get in the way, because when anyone comes here the Lithuanians are all at work. And those in support of unity are marching up and down with their little slogans.

[Second female worker] If Sajudis needs to hold a rally of some kind during working hours, they [management] just lets them off. But the armored troop carriers do not get in our way at all. You even feel calmer when...

[Third male worker, interrupting] Let some more of them come. Let a dozen come and stand here. What are they needed for anyway?

[Medvedev] Well, I have understood one thing. There is no unanimity in your collective. Different points of view exist on the most important political subjects.

[Second worker] On political subjects, yes.

[Medvedev] Well how can that be? You've somehow got to find a common language. Or isn't there any need for it?

[Second worker] Naturally it is necessary to do something.

[Medvedev] And what about your opinion?

[Second worker] Ah-ha, I don't know.

[Medvedev] At the present time, many people in the republic are waiting to see what the politicians will decide. For the moment they are tackling the economy, leaving the ship of Lithuania in a political drift. How

long will it last? [video shows scenes inside the factory, interview with director and with workers, street scenes with armored troop carrier]

Panic Buying Depletes Shops in Lithuania

LD2704100690 Moscow TASS in English 0938 GMT 27 Apr 90

["Empty Shelves in Lithuania as Panic Spreads"—TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow April 27 TASS—The decision of the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet to establish an antiblockade committee triggered a panicky reaction, the RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA newspaper reports from Vilnius today. Over the past three days, all stocks have been depleted in shops—flour, textiles, vegetable oil, socks, matches and footwear have been sold out. Two months supply of flour was sold in three days.

Production has been curtailed at 46 and halted at two Lithuanian industrial enterprises since supplies of oil were cut off and supplies of gas reduced, the newspaper says.

The losses this entailed amount to 6,000 man-days, or R1 million. Hundreds of suburban and inter-city transport routes have been closed, the inner-city transport services have worsened. All this occurred during the first days when work could continue using available stocks, which are running out today. About half of all industrial enterprises are expected to close down and the production of foodstuffs to fall.

According to Lithuanian Economics Minister G. Knasis, R5 million are paid out in wages every day and $5 million are needed daily to pay for fuel imports from other countries. At the same time, the newspaper noted, the antiblockade accounts, which the Lithuanian leadership opened in the Stockholm and Vilnius banks, boasted just $100,000 and R100,000 on April 23.

Armed "voluntary" groups, totaling several thousand people and accountable to the parliamentary Defence and Interior Affairs Commission, are used to guard the government buildings, the television centre and the central telephone exchange, the newspaper reports from Vilnius. The volunteers include deserters from the Soviet Army.

Bickauskas Declines Comment on Moscow Meeting

LD2704102590 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Jurate Valanciute report]

[Text] An hour ago, I spoke on the telephone with Egidijus Bickauskas, the Lithuanian government representative in Moscow. It can be said that there is nothiung new on that front, except for yesterday's meeting of our Supreme Council deputies with Anatoliy Lukyanov, chairman of the USSR Supreme Soviet.

Egidijus Bickauskas thinks this meeting was useful and that Anatoliy Lukyanov was interested in some of our deputies' proposals. However, in Egidijus Bickauskas' opinion, any comment on this meeting would be premature.

Landsbergis Predicts Blockade Will Be Ineffective

LD2704083190 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0700 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] On 26 April a news conference took place at the Supreme Council in Vilnius. The journalists' questions were answered by the chairman of the Supreme Council of the republic of Lithuania, Vytautas Landsbergis, deputy chairman Kazimieras Motieka, and secretary of the Supreme Council Liudvikas Sabutis.

Vytautas Landsbergis briefly described the main guidelines of the Lithuanian Republic's law on provisional measures in the conditions of the USSR economic blockade. He noted: Today the Supreme Council examined the problem concerning 9 May and proposed that this year's 9 May should be celebrated as the day of the 45th anniversary of the victory of the anti-Hitlerite coalition.

Answering a question on Lithuania's future, he stated that, disregarding the possibility of a speedy abolition of the economic blockade, Lithuania will adapt itself to the complex conditions imposed on it, orient itself to different branches of production, and return to normal life. The USSR economic blockade will not be very effective.

During the blockade some enterprises have ceased operating, people have found themselves without work. The Lithuanian Republic intends to pay them pecuniary support and find them different employment. At the same time all expenses are being included into a future account which will be submitted to the culprit—the USSR. It is known that Moscow intends to pay wages to the workers at the Mazeikiai oil refinery.

Kazimieras Motieka stated that on 25 April there was an article in LITERATURNAYA GAZETA expressing doubts whether the Soviet Union's government acted correctly in discontinuing the supply of oil to the Mazeikiai oil refinery.

Other questions by the journalits were also answered at the news conference.

Lithuanian Official Issues Statement on Blockade

LD2704101190 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 0900 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Statement by Lithuanian governmenmt spokesman Ceslovas Jursenas; place not given—live or recorded]

[Excerpt] I want to describe the work of the government today. As usual, the government commission on adjustment of the economic situation met this morning at

0900. It is chaired by Deputy Premier Algirdas Brazauskas. The commission is working normally, if it is possible at all to speak about normal work in the condition of blockade. All problems which have arisen are being solved in an efficient manner or instructions have been given about what should be done. A meeting of the Lithuanian republican government should take place at 1400 [1000 GMT] today. It will examine problems concerning the blockade. [passage omitted]

Lithuanian Claims of Rail Blockade Denied

PM2604163590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 27 Apr 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Feature comprising report by IZVESTIYA correspondent Aleksandr Protsenko from Vilnius and report by Irina Demchenko under the rubric "Direct Line. IZVESTIYA Correspondents Report": "Ministry of Railways 'Secret Order'?"]

[Text] One of the main questions troubling Lithuania today is: What awaits it— the economic sanctions alone or a full-scale blockade?

The well known warning from Moscow only mentioned the cessation of deliveries of types of output that are sold for freely convertible currency. But today no more than 1,200 of the daily number of 2,000 freight cars are arriving with freight for Lithuania. Vilnius' "Plasta" plant is not receiving polymer raw materials. The Shebekino chemical combine has failed to supply 1,700 tonnes of synthetic fatty acids. The Gomel fats combine is holding back 200 tonnes of baking fats. Liepaja's metal workers are not dispatching metal. Shipments of bleached paper to the Janonis paper plant have been stopped—yet the factory produces the best grades of printing paper, 70-80 percent of which goes to the Soviet Union.

The leaders of Lithuania's ministries from whom I obtained these figures claim that there is a "secret order" from the Ministry of Railways to stop all deliveries to the republic (See the commentary from the Ministry of Railways below—Editorial Office).

On Monday the Lithuanian parliament adopted a special "antiblockade law" giving the government emergency powers—for instance, to convert enterprises and change their plans, including cooperatives' plans, to remove and appoint directors (obviously, if leaders of enterprises under Union jurisdiction take it into their heads not to fulfill Vilnius' instructions), and so on. Deliberate nonfulfillment of Lithuanian Council of Ministers instructions will be seen as wrecking, with the corresponding consequences.

Shelves have become emptier and lines longer at stores in the Lithuanian capital. According to Vice Premier A. Brazauskas, the republic has a two-month supply of imported food products. But the population is nevertheless intensively buying up groats, salt, and matches, and laying in stocks. The government is now considering the question of introducing rationed distribution of essentials and food products, including the use of ration cards. The new law makes provision for this kind of rationing. It is possible that commercial prices will be fixed for goods in heightened demand—to swell "antiblockade stocks."

There are a considerable number of foreign journalists in Lithuania these days. There were almost more foreign journalists at the Sajudis Congress than Soviet journalists, and even now I meet my foreign colleagues every day. They asked animatedly at Wednesday's press conference at the Council of Ministers whether the government's position has changed in connection with the fact that U.S. President G. Bush has refused to put pressure on the Soviet Union over the "Lithuanian question." Vice Premier A. Brazauskas confirmed his viewpoint once again that only a quest for reasonable compromises with the USSR Government can save the situation.

Judging by Prime Minister K. Prunskiene's reaction, she disagrees with this statement. Three hours earlier she announced in parliament that she is giving up half her pay until the end of the blockade in favor of the future unemployed.

Railroad Workers Have Nothing to Do With It

IZVESTIYA correspondent Irina Demchenko asked the USSR Ministry of Railways to comment on the Lithuanian Council of Ministers statements about railroad transport workers' alleged blockade on the passage of freight cars carrying shipments for the republic's enterprises.

V. Ginko, first deputy minister of railways, categorically denied the conjecture about any instructions from above to "hold back" shipments en route for Lithuania or about a show of departmental initiative in this area.

"Railroad workers have not interfered and will not interfere under any circumstances in politics," Vladimir Nikolayevich said. "Everything that is shipped to the republic by enterprises and organizations in other regions of the country, with the exception of freight which the USSR Government has given authorization for us to hold back, is being sent to the consignees as usual. I have no information about deliberate holdups of freight cars at stations and on open lines. Ministry of Railways enterprises located on Lithuanian territory are still being supplied with fuel, electricity and everything necessary for their normal operation in order to ensure the uninterrupted working of the railroad. So the complaints about us from the Lithuanian Council of Ministers are unfounded."

Railway Official on Transport, Rolling Stock

LD2704145790

[Editorial Report] Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian at 1200 GMT on 27 April carries an interview with

Stanislav Boyko, acting chief of the Vilnius division of the Baltic Railway, by a Radio Vilnius correspondent.

Boyko says: "Any freight which today needed to be transported in the division, either on the Vilnius division or on the Siauliai division, was accepted for transport and was delivered to the consumers in good time. To this end, we have everything necessary to date. We are resolving questions with the Railways Ministry and with the administration of the Baltic Railway. The transfer of the requisite resources is required today, which is being resolved."

He goes on to say that "also in the near future the railway workers have available the necessary resources" to ensure that the transportation of freight and passengers proceeds in a stable manner, so that the railway workers do not cause, in the first place, enterprises, to worry. In today's conditions, when the quantity of motor transport is being reduced, we are, among other things, ready to carry more passengers on the railways."

He continues, "In principle today, as for claims that transportation within the republic is not being fully ensured, we have sufficient rolling stock. But some anxieties are arising that railway workers in these conditions may attempt to take the rolling stock out of the Republic. This is not at all the case."

He says: "The only thing we have difficulties with is gondola cars. In principle, of all rolling stock today we have available quantities even above the norm which we are supposed to have. This makes it possible to look with optimism toward ensuring transportation within the republic." It is true that lately the quantity of freight arriving in the republic has fallen somewhat, but there are various reasons for that, Boyko concludes.

Future of Lithuanian Situation Viewed

PM2604173090 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 16, 22 Apr 90 p 11

[Vladimir Gurevich article: "Lithuanian Balance"]

[Text] Vilnius-Moscow—"Is it true that you said Lithuanians will have to switch to a six-day work week, longer work days and unpaid leave?"

Kazimiera Danute Prunskiene, head of Lithuania's Council of Ministers, could not hide her surprise, and asked: "Who told you that?"

"The person who drove me here from the train station."

"Imagine all the rumours being circulated now..."

The streets of Vilnius evoked no other feelings except those warm and carefree ones associated with spring. One elderly Lithuanian was on a street discussing what the consequences might be if Lithuania secedes from the Union, but he was very nonchalant. He was in favour of independence but against Zalgiris' withdrawal from the USSR football championship. "There's no one to play against. In the match against the Letts the score was three to nothing already after 20 minutes of play. Who'll make the next move?" A drama reduced to the size of a football field - what a joy that would be for both Vilnius and Moscow!

My interview with the head of the Lithuanian government took place three days after the USSR Presidential Council, which discussed the situation in Lithuania, concluded that there's a need to adopt further economic, political and other measures.

Anticipating my questions, Prunskiene countered them with her own:

"What do they want to do? If it's to punish Lithuania - suppose by cutting back on deliveries and severing economic contracts - well, they will also punish our partners in the Union."

But Lithuania accounts for a mere 1.5 per cent of the Union's output.

"Be what it may, we take the lead in supplying fuel equipment, picture tubes, integral schemes, household electric meters, high-quality drills and cement. And in Lithuania the first to be victimized by the disruption of ties would be large-scale enterprises whose workforce consists mostly of representatives from the Russian-speaking population. But we see no great desire on the part of our partners and the Union ministries to sever these ties—on the contrary, they constantly come here, seeking to make sure that our ties are not interrupted. And if something has been disrupted, this will be due to a decision by the Centre."

What will happen if financial operations with Lithuania are really switched over to hard cash and at world prices? After all, there is logic in this.

"First they clipped our wings, and now they say fly. Lithuania was cut off from the world market, and the present economic structure was imposed on it. But I'm not saying that these new conditions are impossible, this has to be discussed. Although more expensive fuel and metal would also affect the price of our products supplied to the Union."

...I had many questions, the Prime Minister had little time. An hour later Vilnius was to receive delegations from Latvia and Estonia. And three hours later the three Republics' heads of government signed, amidst a blitz of flashing cameras, an Agreement on the Baltic Market. The preparations for the Agreement, said Premier Edgar Savisaar of Estonia, commenced as early as a year ago and it must be in force until 2000, "irrespective of whether or not all three Republics are part of the USSR". A Council of Cooperation and a Commission will be formed with headquarters in Riga. A common financial fund and an investment bank are being set up. The documents speak about the need to introduce national currencies for each Republic. "Today there is no question about common currency...."

...Lithuania's Minister of Finance, Romualdas Sikorskis, has held this post since 1957, but he believes that the problems never have been so compounded as now. The litas are one of them. The sketches of national currency already exist, but there is still no unambiguous concept. It is planned to put litas into circulation at the end of this or the beginning of next year, the proposed exchange rate with the rouble being 1:1. There will evidently be some exchange quota for visitors. "Of course, the litas will not become freely convertible all at once, for this the economy must start working effectively." It is not yet clear how residents will exchange money. "The Soviet government has said that it is against our currency reform. I'm not a supporter of withdrawing money either." In addition to money, the Minister is busy with the problem of a new taxation system, pensions and allowances.... "But we sit here and calculate, whereas everything will be determined by the political situation." There's also a need for a price reform, but it's necessary to consider what the reform will be like in the Union. Is he interested in this? "Of course, I am."

When Sikorskis already headed the Ministry of Finance, Albertas Sinevicius was still a worker of a fur factory. A week ago he became the Minister of Trade. "The Union has been and will be our main supplier and customer. We have fulfilled all deliveries for the first quarter and have concluded all contracts for 1990."

The Minister of Trade took over his post at a time when the rationing system was finishing off republican trade. To combat growing queues for liquor, a few days prior to his appointment, the municipal authorities introduced monthly coupons for alcoholic beverages totalling R15 each. People who don't drink can exchange them for consumer goods in short supply. If they are on sale. My attempt to get access to the achievements of the local light industry in the shape of men's socks also suffered a complete fiasco: one had to show his/her local residence permit. And yet, despite the Vilnius people's complaints, their shelves in stores (at any rate, food stores) are richer than those in Moscow, to say nothing about Ryazan. And, I think, the attempts of those who try to make believe that the relative abundance of food products is due to the fact that the Republic has been endowed with more lavish capital assets are false. Thirty years ago the local shelves were perhaps even richer than now, although there were practically no "assets" at that time.

In general, attempts to count mutual debts come up against inconceivable obstacles. And not only in the shape of the so-called prices and deductions. Simply in reply to "look how much we have built for you" follows "but we didn't need it". As estimated by Lithuanian economists, the stay in the system of the command economy has resulted in the past two-decades in the loss of 90 billion roubles in the Republic's agriculture, and nearly as much in industry. The losses have been estimated relative to world standards, and it can be argued to what extent Lithuania could be able to reach them. The question is different: is it at all possible to win over something in a "scientific" and "substantiated" way through argument? The truth turns to whoever takes the floor. Lithuania's population indeed didn't ask that such ecologically unsafe giants as the Mazeikiai oil refinery, the Ignalina nuclear power plant or cement works be built in their little Republic. And if some used to ask: "Why did you build all that for us?" now others will ask: "Why did we build all that for them?"

If it is very difficult to estimate the balance of debts, it is possible to calculate the import-export balance. In accordance with the current prices in the country, Lithuania annually imported 1.4 billion roubles' worth of goods more than it exported. In terms of world prices, this trade imbalance would exceed three billion foreign currency roubles.

Of course, if the terms of trade change, then its content may change as well. But most likely the imbalance will remain. To what extent has the economic price of political independence been estimated, how is this transition being conceived, how much could Lithuania earn on the Western market, and what could it renounce? I fully agreed with Lithuanians that a market economy and free enterprise would produce results which are impossible in the conditions of administrative coercion. But I found no answer to my questions and understood that I wouldn't be able to find one, for I heard: independence is priceless. I didn't argue.

"The market and independence are two different things," I was told by Gediminas Vagnorius, an economist, member of the Presidium of the Republic's Supreme Soviet. "Although, of course, given a market, all the processes proceed less painfully: a normal economy know no boundaries.... You remember that a law giving economic independence to the three Baltic Republics was adopted last autumn. A good law. But then State Planning Committee Chairman Maslyukov made a speech here: he spoke as if there were no such law at all! We listened and looked at each other: it was clear what kind of 'economy' was again gaining the upper hand...."

At 9 p.m. the Vilnius-Moscow train left the station. The Lithuanian anthem was playing. Naturally, I didn't know what text the announcer of the TV Vremya programme was reading at that moment. In the morning, having bought the Pravda newspaper in a Moscow kiosk, I read: "...In the existing situation we have to make the following warning: unless the Supreme Soviet and the Council of Ministers of the Lithuanian SSR cancel their above-mentioned decisions in two days, instructions will be issued to discontinue deliveries to Lithuania from other Union Republics of those kinds of products which are being sold on the foreign market for freely convertible currency...."

PRAVDA Vilnius Correspondent Resigns

LD2604224190 Vilnius International Service in English 2200 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Vytautas Matulevicius, the correspondent for the PRAVDA in Lithuania, has made an open statement to the daily's editor in chief, Ivan Frolov. In the statement, published in the RESPUBLIKA newspaper, Vytaytas Matulevicius writes that he has been recently subjected to strong pressure concerning his reports from Lithuania. As the PRAVDA twists all the information, Vytautas Matulevicius resigned from the post.

Sajudis Leader on Lithuanian Defense Options

PM2604173690 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 16, 22 Apr 90 p 11

[Interview with Lithuanian Supreme Soviet Commission for the Protection of the Environment chairman Zigmas Vaisvila by Valeriy Pogrebenkov; date, place not given: "A Lithuanian Army?"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Lithuania's Supreme Soviet Commission for Protection of the Environment consists of six members. It is headed by Zigmas Vaisvila, 33, a member of the Sajudis's Seimas council, Candidate of Science (Theoretical Physics), Senior Lieutenant in reserve, and the father of two daughters.

[Pogrebenkov] Lithuania's Supreme Soviet has decided to set up a department for protection of the environment rather than a ministry. Is it just a change of name or a new concept altogether?

[Vaisvila] Our parliament still has to discuss whether we are going to have compulsory military service, what should be defended and by whom.

[Pogrebenkov] What is the Commission's view on this score?

[Vaisvila] Most important for us is the protection of borders, enhanced-security establishments and strategic objects.

[Pogrebenkov] But you'll need weapons for this. Where do you intend to get them?

[Vaisvila] This problem could be settled through negotiations with the Soviet Union. For financial and technical reasons we prefer Soviet weapons. We would like to have a professional army formed on a voluntary basis. That's why the Sajudis public organizaton has started registering male volunteers aged 19 to 40. (We have not yet gathered forces together or supplied them with arms, as reported by some newspapers).

[Pogrebenkov] How many have already been registered?

[Vaisvila] About four thousand.

[Pogrebenkov] How many do you think you need?

[Vaisvila] Around five thousand. We'll probably need small bodies, interior forces, who would help maintain public order. In order to combat organized crime, the drugs mafia and international terrorism we intend to form rapid deployment groups under the Ministry of Internal Affairs. We will also need experts to work at radar installations and four patrol boats to protect the sea-coast.

[Pogrebenkov] Do you think this is enough to repel military intervention?

[Vaisvila] We are not going to start a war against anybody. We hope and are convinced that other states have no such intentions towards us, either. Actually, we would like to turn Lithuania into a demilitarized zone.

[Pogrebenkov] Won't the prospective changes damage the Soviet Union's security?

[Vaisvila] We understand the Soviet military and political leadership's concern on this issue. The Soviet Army has strategic installations based in Lithuania, and these cannot be removed from our territory immediately. Their withdrawal will require two to three years. If the Soviet Union seeks to preserve these installations this should be settled on a legal basis. For example, we can sign an agreement on the temporary status of the Soviet Army's presence in our republic.

Correspondent Reports on Lithuanian Procuracy

LD2604195890 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Report by Special Correspondent Aleksey Kolachev in Lithuania]

[Text] [Kolachev] The situation in the republic is complex, both from the political and economic point of view. Two communist parties exist here and journalists in the press, on radio, and on television are crossing swords endlessly. Even old friends are arguing outright because of ideological differences. For this same reason, in actual fact, two procurators of the republic exist in Lithuania, too. One more precisely, the acting one, was appointed by the procurator general of the Soviet Union. On the 30 March, he, Antanas Petrauskas, took up his post.

[Begin Petrauskas recording] Our procuracy of the Lithuanian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] is fulfilling to the full extent the duties envisaged by the law on the procuracy of the USSR. All the work of all the structural subunits is continuing as before to the full extent. Paulauskas, pointed procurator by the Supreme Soviet of the republic, is not in this building. I do not know where he is discharging his duties or to what extent. Here, the remainder of the apparatus of the procuracy of the Lithuanian SSR is in this building and is discharging its duties to the full extent. As for the grass routs sections of the procuracy in rayons and cities, they are working in the same conditions. [end recording]

[Kolachev] Thirty-seven year old Arturus Paulauskas was appointed procurator of the republic by a decision of the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania. Incidentally, his office is just a five-minute drive from the office of Antanas Petrauskas.

[Begin recording] [Paulauskas] Well, as you know, the situation in the Republic is complex now and it has boosted new crimes. Such crimes have appeared as theft of fuel and lubricants. There will probably be some thefts of food, and perhaps, speculation.

[Kolachev] Are there any contacts between this procuracy and the procurator appointed by all-union instances.

[Paulauskas] On 22 March, I was appointed by the Supreme Soviet of the Lithuanian Republic as procurator of the republic and within a week I was driven out of that building of the procuracy. MVD Troops were brought in there who are there now, and I am not being let into that building. All, practically all the staff, that is almost 97 percent, have adopted such a decision. The procurator general appointed Petrauskas as temporary acting procurator of the republic. The court and all the other law enforcement bodies of the republic do not acknowledge the appointment of Petrauskas and only the jurisdiction of the procuracy of the republic headed by me is acknowledged. [end recording]

[Kolachev] At the moment, the same codes of laws which existed before the adoption of the act of independence are still in force. Both procurators, in fulfilling them, are combatting crime which, incidentally, in the first quarter of the year has risen. After, all there have been and still are, and I am afraid, will be criminals and offenders, regardless of political and national collisions, which are only to their benefit. Therefore, it seems to me that politics should not interfere in the matter of combatting crime.

Secretariat Member Views Visit to Lithuania

PM2604150290 Milan L'UNITA in Italian
25 Apr 90 p 12

[Interview with CPSU Secretariat member Andrey Girenko by Sergio Sergi; date, place not given]

[Text] "Gorbachev is acting with prudence and composure...." This was a comment on Lithuania from Andrey Girenko, 54-year-old Ukrainian engineer, deputy, CPSU Secretariat member, and the man in charge of "nationalities issues." It is not true that there is a "blockade on Lithuania." There is a willingness to negotiate "everything"—but within the framework of the USSR Constitution. If introduced, "presidential government" will be only partial.

[Sergi] Andrey Nikolayevich, you, a Secretariat member, have just returned from Vilnius where you attended the congress of the communists still loyal to the CPSU. How did you find the situation? Is it true that the republic is paralyzed by the economic blockade?

[Girenko] The Lithuanian leaders protested about an economic blockade, but there is no blockade....

[Sergi] But measures on oil and gas have been introduced....

[Girenko] You cannot talk about a blockade when no supplies arrive. Gorbachev was right when he said: Since the republic's leadership has adopted an unacceptable stance that promises no improvement, the president is obliged to defend the USSR's Constitution. Furthermore, the country's situation is very difficult; we have a very unfavorable foreign balance of trade, we lack currency and do not have much merchandise to export. Gas and oil are the main source for obtaining convertible currency. This is why the president decided to limit supplies of these products, and it will have an effect in the republic. But other goods will continue to arrive. Lithuania has agreements with factories throughout the Union that will continue to operate.

[Sergi] So do you absolutely deny that a total blockade has been introduced?

[Girenko] The Lithuanian leaders like to use tough words such as "blockade" and "occupation." But how can you talk in terms of the occupation of one of the USSR's republics by the Soviet Army? It is a total absurdity. But the Lithuanians are very fond of that. Among the Lithuanian leaders there are probably those who do not know what a real blockade and a real occupation are. Thus people are prompted to regard the central authorities not as an irritation but as a threat—as a dictatorship.

[Sergi] President Landsbergis says he is ready to negotiate....

[Girenko] He is proposing negotiations of the kind that take place between foreign countries. I believe that President Gorbachev cannot accept—and he does not accept—such a basis for negotiations. In general, negotiations can be conducted on this basis, but in this instance a number of very serious problems would arise—world market prices, currency, supplies. And it would be a real disaster for the Lithuanian people. The Lithuanian leaders believe that we deliberately want to deceive them, but we are well aware of what would happen to Soviet citizens living in Lithuania if Moscow accepted those conditions.

[Sergi] What is the actual proposal for resolving this situation?

[Girenko] I was just about to say. Neither the state, nor the party, nor the president deny a republic's right to leave the USSR. But it cannot be done as a whim, instantly, simply by signing a document approved at night. Secession requires the solution of many complicated problems. If Lithuania wants to leave the Union it

must restructure its entire economy in order to be self-sufficient. And that takes time.

[Sergi] How long?

[Girenko] There are aspects of the matter that affect us, and affect all Soviets. In Lithuania there are 800,000 people who have no intention of going anywhere, and we must take account of these people's future. Then there is the matter of the union's property on that republic's territory: This too must be considered....

[Sergi] We were talking about a specific proposal....

[Girenko] The president's proposal is fully justified: to return to the situation of 10 March, before the Lithuanian Supreme Soviet's decision. Thus the secession process can begin.

[Sergi] On the basis of the law approved by the USSR parliament?

[Girenko] On the basis of Soviet laws, because there is no other way.

[Sergi] But the law on secession envisages complex conditions, and that is why it has ben criticized....

[Girenko] Let them show me a single country that has not traveled a difficult road to reach independence and that has resolved all its problems overnight.

[Sergi] Be that as it may, there is a deadlock. Vilnius refuses to relinquish its declaration of independence, while Moscow insists on it as a precondition. How will this be resolved?

[Girenko] Through reason. I was told in Lithuania that Landsbergis will never abandon the decisions adopted, but I believe that for a politician it is dangerous not to be flexible. And there is another danger that is underestimated: A political leader cannot make decisions without reckoning that they will influence many people's lives. The decision made by Vilnius affects the 800,000 people who do not want to leave and who could start taking action. That could be a very dangerous.

[Sergi] There is talk of a moratorium, of a "freeze" on legislation by Vilnius.

[Girenko] My view is that these negotiations can only be carried out with a republic in the Union. These 800,000 people are asking for our support and are now criticizing the president for showing indecision and they are Soviet citizens and have the right to ask for help. The suspension of the declaration of independence for a time will apply until the republic can achieve its objective of leaving the USSR....

[Sergi] Is this the compromise that Moscow is offering Vilnius?

[Girenko] Certainly, this is the compromise. But Moscow is not offering Vilnius anything. This is my view as a CPSU secretary because it is the president who is dealing with these problems. But, as far as I know, the president is prepared to negotiate with a Soviet Socialist Republic in which the USSR Constitution is in force.

[Sergi] Is the president prepared for negotiations on all the problems raised by the Lithuanian leadership?

[Girenko] On all questions. But the negotiations must take place with a republic in the Union. Any republic now can raise any kind of problem.

[Sergi] Will presidential government be introduced?

[Girenko] It is a form of government laid down in the Constitution and it is possible. But I am not in a position to answer that. I think that the situation does not yet require it. And even if it happens, I think that it will only be implemented in some regions. It will be a partial measure. I am convinced that the president has political and other measures capable of keeping control of the situation.

[Sergi] What kind of man is Lithuanian leader Vitautas Landsbergis?

[Girenko] I do not intend to give an official verdict but, as I see him, he is somebody who does not have the necessary political experience. He is not the best man for the Lithuanian people.

[Sergi] Do you think that the clash between Moscow and Vilnius can have serious repercussions at international level?

[Girenko] The conflict certainly does not help to improve the situation. But the appearance in the Baltic of a new state will influence the existing balance of forces and will lead to a reassessment of some ideas. However, I would like to stress that it is an internal matter, a matter of internal USSR politics, a matter for our federal state. We know about international sympathy for Lithuanian independence and, as I have already said, our political line does not rule out separation by a republic.

[Sergi] President Bush is considering the possibilty of sanctions against the USSR....

[Girenko] The U.S. President is assessing the situation from his viewpoint. That is his right, I cannot say anything. I repeat, any intervention in USSR'S internal affairs can only have negative consequences. Our president is acting in a very cautious way, without hurrying things; he understands how delicate and complex the situation is. Gorbachev knows that we must act cautiously and calmly.

[Sergi] Some U.S. political circles have advised postponing the summit between the United States and the USSR. Is this a real possibility?

[Girenko] Bush and Gorbachev will decide that. I think that relations between the two states must be built up irrespective of internal situations created in either nation.

Party Official on Civil Committees' Congress

LD2604162990 Moscow TASS in English 1552 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Report by TASS correspondent Boris Zverev]

[Text] Vilnius April 26 TASS—Lithuania has found itself in a hard economic and political situation as a result of actions of the new government of the republic. Already now 7,500 people are out of job in this Baltic republic, Vladislav Shved, chairman of the Civil Committees of Lithuania, second secretary of the Central Committee of the pro-Union Lithuanian Communist Party (LCP), told a news conference today in view of the Lithuanian Civil Committees' Congress that opens on Saturday.

According to estimates by economic experts, unemployment in the coming several weeks may affect a, proximately a half or more of industrial workers.

The Civil Committees movement, which unites representatives of all sections of the republic's population irrespective of their nationality or party affiliation, favours free development of Lithuania within a renewed Soviet Federation.

The congress, to be attended by about 400 delegates, is expected to adopt several documents: "A Statute of Civil Committees," "A Political Declaration", and an "Address To The Parliament of Lithuania."

The Civil Committees are aiming to uphold the interests of those residents of the republic who suffer most of all from economic adversities, discrimination or are subjected to psychological pressure on the part of the supporters of the Sajudis nationalist movement.

"At first the pro-Union LCP will play the role of an organisational nucleus of civil committees," Shved said, emphasising at the same time that pro-Union LCP leaders will withdraw from the movement's leading bodies in the near future, giving place to non-party people.

Shved critically assessed the stand of the present Lithuanian leadership, emphasising that talks on which the Lithuanian government insists will not produce results either.

"If talks are to be held with the USSR as a foreign state, the outcome will be the same revealing the need for a revision of economic relations," he said.

Lithuanian Chernobyl Victims Seek Medical Help

LD2604212290 Vilnius Domestic Service in Lithuanian 1600 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Excerpts] [passage omitted] Not only the Ukrainians, Belorussians and Russians, but also residents of Lithuania can be counted among the victims of the Chernobyl disaster.

Here follows a report of an interview with a Chernobyl Movement member, by correspondent Rimantas Jurgelionis.

[Jurgelionis] The Lithuanian Chernobyl Coordination Center, which has been opened in Kaunas, is organizing a commemoration to mark this date. [passage omitted] I spoke with Chairman of the Coordination Center Rymantas Kupra:

[Begin recording] [Kupra] We have already collected 470 signatures of Kaunas residents. According to our preliminary calculations there should be another 6,000 such individuals in the republic. People have begun to contact us already. Most frequently, these who come to see us, are those individuals already in need of medical assistance.

[Jurgelionis] Does your organization have medical personnel and doctors?

[Kupra] Yes, namely those who have participated in Chernobyl disaster cleanup operations, since many doctors did participate in that. I would like, however, to direct them to city health protection section workers and rayon [word indistinct] hospitals and doctors. These individuals were supposed to have received from military commissariats, lists of participants in Chernobyl disaster cleanup operations. These lists were supposed to have been handed in and Chernobyl cleanup participants were supposed to be called in for (?an examination) I therefore make an ernest appeal to send all such lists to the Coordination Center in Kaunas [address omitted] so that we may register all Chernobyl disaster cleanup participants and render [word indistinct] to these people. [end recording]

Lithuania's Prunskiene Interviewed in Copenhagen

PM2504084990 Copenhagen BERLINGSKE TIDENDE in Danish 23 Apr 90 p 9

[Flemming Rose report on 22 April Copenhagen interview with Lithuanian Prime Minister Kazimiera Prunskiene: "The Woman Who Could Bring Gorbachev to His Knees"]

[Text] She is called Lithuania's "Iron Lady," in a clear reference to a British model. Others say that she is the woman who could bring Gorbachev to his knees. Both assertions can seem a little difficult to understand when you see Kazimiera Prunskiene standing smiling her awkward but disarming smile.

But you should not make any mistakes about the 47-year-old economics professor who has been sitting in the hot seat for a month now as Lithuania's prime minister. She considers the comparison with Margaret Thatcher to be a compliment, but also stresses that she is her own woman and that Lithuania has its own special problems.

BERLINGSKE TIDENDE met Prime Minister Prunskiene early Sunday morning at the Hotel Scandinavia.

Asked about her views on the widespread talk about Lithuanian national movement Sajudis' monopoly of power, Prunskiene replied:

"Sajudis was founded in the summer of 1988. In it allies from a number of fields came together with the objective of strengthening Lithuania's sovereignty. That goal has now been achieved, and I therefore think that the national movement's work will change. Some people are talking about turning Sajudis into a political party, but that presupposes an organizational structure and a membership—things that we do not have today.

"Personally I want a renewed Sajudis which will function as an opposition to that part of the national movement which today sits in parliament. They should monitor our work and draw our attention to our mistakes. And also there is the independent Lithuanian Communist Party, which has also had a great deal of influence."

The Lithuanian prime minister is divorced and has three grown children. She sees her divorce as a result of the "Soviet way of life" and still lives in the same little apartment in Vilnius despite her appointment as prime minister.

"But now there is talk that I should move to a government residence where living and working conditions are much better. But it is a sensitive issue. The Sovietization of Lithuania gave unfair privileges to a large number of people and, in the light of this, it could very well be difficult for some people to accept certain privileges for the government," said Prunskiene, who two years ago had not even dreamed that she would enter politics.

Prunskiene's critical approach to the Soviet model has been shaped through scientific contacts with West German and Hungarian economists.

"I was in Hungary in 1981 and in West Germany in 1982 and this helped me to look at the Soviet economy from outside. The failings of the planned economy became clearer and clearer to me and I was able to see how everything is turned on its head in an unnatural way," said the prime minister, who until Gorbachev's takeover of power in 1985 had difficulty in getting her articles published in the Soviet Union.

During her visit to Scandinavia Prunskiene heard about the Soviet authorities' refusal to grant visas for Lithuania to a number of Scandinavian businessmen and journalists. "I will take the matter up when I return home. I think that we should try to arrange permission to enter through Warsaw, but the Soviet Union cannot keep us isolated from the rest of the world forever."

Asked for an assessment of her visit to Denmark, the Lithuanian prime minister said: "I am fully satisfied with the EC foreign ministers' statement and we will use this document for support in our endeavors to secure negotiations with the Soviet Union.

"We had no concrete plans in advance since we had no clear idea of Denmark's attitude, but we have met with great understanding of Lithuania's problems and hope that Denmark will be willing to help if the economic blockade continues. The most important thing for us has been the political backing and the opportunity to put forward our views and I have just received confirmation of a gift of $100,000 from the European Investment Bank in the United States. This has given us the idea of opening Lithuanian independence accounts everywhere in the West to which those people who are interested can make contributions."

Prunskiene understands the difficult situation in which Gorbachev finds himself, but does not think that the Soviet president's talk of a renewal of the federation squares with his attempt to balance between reformist forces and conservatives in the political struggle.

Lithuanian Attempts Self-Immolation in Moscow

LD2604182690 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 26 Apr 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] We have just received the following TASS report at the studio:

Today an attempt at self-immolation was made at Revolution Square in Moscow. As was reported at the USSR Ministry of the Interior, the attempt was made by Lithuanian resident (Stanislavis Gemaitis), born in 1938, married, the father of two children. He has not been employed permanently anywhere recently. The injured party did not make any demands of a political nature. No posters, letters or appeals have yet been found. He has been taken to the Sklifosovskiy Institute [burn treatment center]. The doctors says that he has received second to fourth degree burns. An investigation is under way.

Lithuanian Dies

LD2704121390 Moscow TASS in English 1154 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text]Moscow April 27 TASS—(By TASS correspondent) The man who tried to commit suicide by setting himself on fire on Thursday in Moscow's Revolution Square died in hospital without regaining consciousnes, doctors said.

Doctors battled for five hours to save Stanislovas Zemaitis, a Lithuanian, sixty per cent of whose skin was badly burnt. Valery Oleynik, chief surgeon of Moscow's Sklifosovskiy Emergency Aid Institute, told TASS. Zemaitis, 52, was married and had two children. He had no permanent employment in recent months, Soviet Interior Ministry officials said.

Zemaitis did not present any political demands, did not carry a poster and had no letters or statements on him.

Authorities are investigating the incident.

Savisaar Interviewed on Coalition Government

PM2604173490 Moscow MOSCOW NEWS in English No 16, 22 Apr 90 p 14

[Interview with Estonian Prime Minister Edgar Savisaar by Grant Gukasov; date, place not given: "Comrade Prime Minister"—first paragraph is editorial introduction]

[Text] Edgar Savisaar, new head of Estonia's government, answers questions put by an MN [MOSCOW NEWS] correspondent.

[Gukasov] Comrade Prime Minister, will Estonia continue its policy of self-support?

[Savisaar] Yes, naturally. The IMF programme means economic self-sufficiency based on the market economy.

[Gukasov] It is common knowledge that you have withdrawn from the CPSU. What will be the fate of official functionaries subordinated to the government?

[Savisaar] Everything depends on the personalities concerned. Whether the person belonged to the nomenklatura of the Estonian communist party or not, does not matter to me. What is important is his competence.

[Gukasov] In journalistic circles you are sometimes referred to as Edgar Vissarionovich, hinting at your alleged authoritarianism in running affairs. Perhaps, you really support the idea of an authoritarian regime?

[Savisaar] Under an authoritarian regime it is much easier to solve problems quickly but the results are lamentable. From the first the Popular Front of Estonia was set up to democratize the society. Our main goal is to restore the Estonian republic, and if it is not a democratic state, then I'll consider all our efforts as futile.

As for Edgar Vissarionovich, it's the first time I've heard this. A useful warning to a politician.

[Gukasov] How is the coalition government going to act given the current complex situation in Estonia?

[Savisaar] We are continuing negotiations with different political forces, including those with which the Popular Front has had no contact until now. After all, we have to live together. This point was thoroughly discussed at the recent Council of Representatives of Estonia's Popular Front. For example, the former government tried to normalize cooperation with the management of plants under the jurisdiction of the USSR, but it didn't succeed. We hope that this problem will now be solved.

[Gukasov] For its part, the Soviet Power Protection Committee maintains that the government ignores it and does not respond to its proposals.

[Savisaar] This is not serious. I think it is one of the remaining methods of election tactics. But the elections are over and it is time to change positions.

[Gukasov] Had you been Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Lithuania, would you make up your mind to deviate from the position declared by V. Landsbergis on March 11?

[Savisaar] I was in Lithuania a week ago and at that time there was no talk about any concessions. Maybe the situation has changed since then. Policy must be flexible.

No 'Dangerous Goods' in Latvian Train Crash

PM2704120790 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 27 Apr 90 p 4

[TASS report: "Trains Running Again"]

[Text] Train traffic has resumed on the Aloja-Rujena railroad 118 km out of Riga, where a freight train accident had occurred 24 hours earlier. This had resulted in the injury and later death of the driver of a refrigerator section belonging to the Southern Railroad Belopolye station freightcar depot. Nineteen freightcars, of which four contained a variety of industrial goods, were derailed. There were no ecologically dangerous goods on board.

According to preliminary information the derailment occurred because a railroad track had become unstable. A commission continues to study the circumstances.

RSFSR

Reportage on Gorbachev Meeting at Youth Center

Gusev Opens Meeting

LD2604130390 Moscow TASS in English 1235 GMT 26 Apr 90

[By TASS special corresopndents]

[Text] Sverdlovsk April 26 TASS—A meeting between representatives of the Sverdlovsk region working people with President Mikhail Gorbachev has opened at the Sverdlovsk Youth Palace.

Opening the meeting, Aleksandr Gusev, leader of the Soviet Communist Party Regional Committee, dwelt on the state of affairs in the Urals region. Many problems he mentioned had already been raised during the president's meetings at the Uralmash plant, at the Institute of Physics of Metals and in conversations with Sverdlovsk residents.

The floor was then given to participants in the meeting.

Gorbachev Addresses Crowd

LD2604221790

[Editorial Report] Moscow Domestic Service in Russian at 1545 GMT begins carrying a 70-minute recorded speech by Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev to the working people of Sverdlovsk at the Youth Palace in Sverdlovsk on 26 April. Gorbachev begins by explaining

why he has taken time off to visit the Sverdlovsk region. The problems facing the Urals have become especially acute recently, and we have now reached a new watershed in the course of perestroyka, he says. Perestroyka has ensured that nothing will be the same again. The leadership is committed to giving society a new quality through its socialist choice. Society has to develop on the basis of socialist values and democracy, Gorbachev says.

Understanding of the need for change has grown in society in the last five years. He continues, society has been politicized since the 19th party conference and the first Congress of People's Deputies. Errors have been made, but the phase which we have gone through was indispensable. Concepts such as financial autonomy had to be learned. The demanding attitude revealed in meetings of the past two days are a sign of the political process going on, Gorbachev says. The laws on ownership, land, and others have created a new situation.

Gorbachev continues: The leadership is in constant contact with the regions, so I am glad to have come here now. The people of Sverdlovsk are hardworking and have got moving. The last two days' meetings have been very thorough. Uralmash staff are thinking seriously about how to operate in market conditions. It is satisfactory that people are adopting a constructive approach here.

People in this region are calling for greater scope for initiative and enterprise, which is the correct approach, he says. We have to recall the contribution made by the people of the Urals throughout the country's history. Sverdlovsk people made an enormous contribution towards postwar reconstruction, he points out.

Gorbachev notes that deformations have been committed recently in the region's development, with regard to ecological effects and the lag in the social sphere. Many are concerned by the transition to a market economy. Gorbachev says: We had hoped for a slower approach to economic reform, but over the past few months negative trends have intensified. On the other hand, it is not serious to suggest that the country will transfer to the unbridled market overnight—even Poland has not done that. What there will be is a package of measures essential for market relations to develop. It will be done thoughtfully and in stages. We need mechanisms to encourage people's initiative.

Gorbachev goes on: We shall approach the market by encouraging initiative on the basis that the market must exist for people, not the other way around. The question of compensation for vulnerable strata has to be thought through carefully. A lot of work also has to be done in the services sector. Price controls must remain for key goods. We are going over to a completely different economy, and this must be done seriously, he says.

Gorbachev says that in contrast to this serious approach, what Lithuania has done in declaring independence is not a policy, but an adventure [avantyura]. As for conversion, interesting things are going on, as the structure of both military and civilian industry are changed. This region contains many defense enterprises with well-qualified staff, who are a great national resource, which must be used to produce high-quality consumer goods.

Gorbachev asks: Can the housing problem be solved? This week's conversations on this subject are very satisfctory, and they have produced new proposals to put to the government to expand house construction. Enterprises with spare cash can give grants to their staff to help here, and people should be able to put their own savings into housing. The task set for the year 2000 is realistic, as long as we get on with things. Housing is a very acute problem, but regions such as the Urals have the resources to solve it, he goes on.

On the food problem, Gorbachev says there has been an assumption in the Urals that they are an industrial region which other regions should feed, but this is a wrong attitude. There is a large stock of spare land here which can be used for agriculture. There will be tangible improvement very soon if people display initiative in this area.

Gorbachev says: Many people are concerned about the situation in the party. A reformed society requires a reformed party—this is the Leninist approach. Anybody who accuses us of revisionism has no understanding of Bolshevism, Leninism, or anything else he says. The administrative system has to go, and the party's role must change. It will not be just a parliamentary party, but will remain a vanguard force. It will work among the masses to advance the cause of perestroyka. Both good and bad things in the past are connected with the party: we have to be honest in acknowledging both sides of the coin, Gorbachev comments.

The party is having problems in finding its new role in society as new institutions, particularly in the economy, come into being, but this is something which we have to go through, he says. We must not approach the humane goals of democracy by acting like a bull in a china shop, Gorbachev says.

Gorbachev says the law must be paramount. After Gdlyan and Ivanov's accusations against the leadership, we decided that the Supreme Soviet must examine the matter, for there has to be clarity, not speculation. Without respect for the law, the country will perish. Differences of opinion must be settled by democratic means.

Gorbachev recognizes that some communists are disillusioned and are leaving the party. Their complaints must be heeded, he says. Grassroots elections of delegates will ensure a democratic congress this year. The party will gain new strength in the congress and emerge better able to fulfil its role as a political vanguard.

The new soviets have seemed in some cases to be acting like glorified rallies; this has caused concern among

people, Gorbachev related. It is understandable that they do not yet have much experience, but we should expect constructive proposals from them, he believes. Salaries for members of soviets have to be high enough to attract capable people, so we cut back the party apparatus to release funds to finance their salaries. Another reason for attractive salaries is the need for qualified specialists to take over the functions formerly exercises by party bodies.

Gorbachev states: Local soviets must not act as if they were the USSR Supreme Soviet, but operate within their powers as stated by the Constitution. The Leningrad television case and the Lvov decision on churches are examples of local soviets exceeding their authority, Gorbachev says.

Our multiethnic state is going through a very difficult period, Gorbachev says. The process of national revival has gained pace under perestroyka. This is positive, Gorbachev states, but it has been accompanied by difficulties in the form of separatism and nationalism. Some say the empire should be allowed to collapse, while others say Gorbachev should crack down. Both extremes are wrong, Gorbachev says. The USSR is a powerful state which has helped many people to develop their identity; it should be maintained. Canada, India, Czechoslovakia, and Yugoslavia have problems, but the trend in Western Europe is toward a federation or confederation. Our aim is to tap the potential of the federation, which has not existed as such hitherto, for the USSR has been a unitary state thus far, he points out.

A law on the mechanism for secession has been elaborated, Gorbachev says. It provides for a five-year transition period, because there is much that has to be settled before a republic can leave. In Lithuania we are at a dead-end, which we are trying to resolve by economic methods. There must be a return to the situation on 10 March. If a referendum is held, the secession process can begin after that, Gorbachev says. There is no alternative to this course. Many people are demanding presidential rule in Lithuania and asking why Gorbachev is not using the powers which he has just been given, but such powers have to be used responsibly. We must continue to renew the federation and enable republics to act as sovereign states within a renewed Union, Gorbachev says in conclusion.

Gorbachev Views Economy, Conversion With Public

LD2604213490 Moscow World Service in English 2010 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Excerpts] On Thursday President Gorbachev continued his visit to Sverdlovsk, a major industrial center in the Urals where he arrived on Wednesday. Here is more from our reporter: [announcer read] [passage omitted] Naturally a wide range of pressing topics was raised. Food shortages are one of the greatest problems. President Gorbachev spoke of them with customers and shop assistants at a Sverdlovsk food store. People told the president about the empty counters, the absence of necessities and huge lines, the disappearance of cheap goods replaced by expensive ones that differ little in quality. The president said these are the expenses of the transition of industries to economic independence. They have started producing more expensive goods, thus boosting their profits. As manufacturers, people consider price rises normal, but as customers they naturally are dissatisfied. So what is going to happen when we switch over to a market economy? The president frankly and thoroughly discussed the problems of developing a market economy in the country and planned draft laws to improve the economic situation with city people in the main square of Sverdlovsk. There Mikhail Gorbachev met war veterans and senior citizens. He wished them all the best on the eve of the 45th anniversary of victory over Nazi Germany. The whole country, he said, is going to pay tribute to the generation that did its utmost to defend our lives, freedom, and ideals.

During the meeting with the people the subject of Lithuania was raised. The president was asked why negotiations are not conducted with it. We negotiate with foreign states Mikhail Gorbachev said, but we still consider Lithuania a Soviet republic. If you remember the question was put in that way at the Third Congress of People's Deputies. You and I are in the same position in the face of these decisions he said.

At the scientific institute special attention was paid to the problems of advancing fundamental science. Some of the scientists said that the first results of the introduction of market principles contradicts the interests of scientific development. A solid legal foundation should be laid to remove this tendency.

At the electric engineering plant, a munitions industry facility converted for the production of civilian goods, the president was taken to an exhibition of consumer goods, the latest models of medical equipment, household electronics, and video equipment. It is important, Mikhail Gorbachev said, that all this be manufactured on a mass scale, cease to be exhibition articles, and become goods every person can buy.

Gorbachev Sees Need for 'Turn' in Perestroyka

LD2604193890 Moscow TASS in English 1919 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Sverdlovsk April 26 TASS—The Soviet Union has approached such a phase of perestroyka when it is necessary to make a new serious turn, President Mikhail Gorbachev told the general public of Sverdlovsk today. He is currently on a tour of the Urals area.

"Everything that has been done so far is very important," he said. "We are living in a different country compared with the time when we made the first steps in our policy of perestroyka. I am sure the country will no longer be as it was. The people will not agree to go on living as we lived before."

Those who suggested the policy of perestroyka at the beginning of 1985 and who are now at the helm of the country, Gorbachev said, are committed to the socialist choice and want through joint efforts to try to ennoble Soviet society.

Many are concerned over the prospect of the radicalisation of the economic reform and transition to market economy, Gorbachev said. In such a country as the Soviet Union, with all its complexities, vastness and immensity, one should not act through "shock therapy" methods.

Therefore, he believes, it is essential to normalize the financial, consumer market and at the same time to adopt a whole package of decisions, without which market oriented relations cannot develop and there can be no independence of businesses and regions.

The Soviet leadership wants to establish market, normal relations in order to stimulate people's initiative and technological progress and achieve new economic results and, it means, new possibilities for solving social problems, the president remarked.

The transition to market relations, he said, will lead to a regrouping of work force. Therefore, he believes, it is necessary to set up a system that would envisage unemployment benefits and retraining free of charge.

From his point of view, a system of state regulation of the prices of basic goods, envisaging mechanisms of social protection, compensation and so on and so forth, is also essential.

Having pointed out that the Communist Party is living through hard times because it was the nucleus of the command-and-administer system and its political mechanism, Gorbachev expressed conviction that the party must regain the original role of political vanguard, as was visualised by Lenin.

Touching upon developments concerning Lithuania, the president noted that they reached a deadlock. However, he said, the Soviet leadership is trying to find a way out by political means and is counting on the prudence of the Lithuanian government.

Gorbachev emphasised the need to return to the situation that existed before March 11 when the republic's Supreme Soviet adopted an act on the restoration of independent Lithuanian state. Such is a mandate given by the Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies, Gorbachev said.

Emphasizes Need To Avert Civil War

LD2604194590 Moscow in English to Great Britain and Ireland 1900 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Mikhail Gorbachev, who is in the second day of his fact-finding trip to Sverdlovsk, met with people's representatives at a youth center of the industrial city in the Urals. The president's speech and replies to numerous questions concerned largely this country's planned transition to a market economy. Local television was covering the meeting live.

Mikhail Gorbachev's other meetings with labor staffs and people in the street centered on progress in the sweeping reforms taking place in all spheres of Soviet life. We must start developing into a civilized country, the president said, and pointed to the need to tap the full potential of socialism without losing however its ideals or spiritual values. He said this country's chief function is to prove on its own example that socialism is capable of inducing profound changes in a democratic environment and in strict compliance with the law. Mikhail Gorbachev called for doing everything possible to rule out confrontation, violence, arbitrariness and civil war. He said it will be inadmissable to begin witch-hunting anew, or bread hostility through attempts at spotting the enemy.

Gorbachev Meets With Scientists in Sverdlovsk

LD2604224390 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1700 GMT 26 Apr 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Excerpts] [Unidentified corespondent] These metal items are more than 4,000 years old. They were found on Urals soil last year, and are being stored not in the local history museum, but at the Physics of Metals Institute. The Urals riches have been mined for centuries, but there is nothing in nature that is endless. Resource-saving methods are needed in the Urals just as clean air, crystal-clear rivers, and a healthy earth are needed. This is just one area in which the Urals branch of the Academy of Sciences is busy. There are over 800 research and design institutes, and approximately 60 higher education and 38 Academy institutes in the region.

Today scientists and leaders of scientific centers and Urals higher education establishments assembled in Sverdlovsk for a meeting with the country's president. The conversation lasted more than two hours. By the time it ended, it was clear that there are very many priority discoveries and studies in the Urals. But unfortunately their application is proving torturously difficult. [video shows meeting in progress] [passage omitted] [video shows speakers at the rostrum, panoramic shots of the audience; platform party including Gorabchev, Baklanov, Vlasov, and (?Mostovoy)]

[Begin recording] [Gorbachev] [video shows Gorbachev at the rostrum] The Urals is to important, and I think that, if I say that there is understanding at the center and among the leadership about both the significance and role of the Urals, that we also perceive the worries and problems which have accumulated here, then this is not sufficient. We must all think together about how to give a second wind to the Urals. And this too will not happen without our involvement. Talent, particularly scientific talent, but any worker's talent—yesterday I spoke

(?about this)—must be given incentives. Without that, the country cannot and we cannot...

If we do not break out of this system which we are in, and excuse me for a most coarse word, of this foolhardy system of wage-leveling approaches, then all the life in our people will be destroyed, and the nation will be suffocated, because there are always, so to speak, advanced forces and talented forces, the skilled craftsmen who always advance things and who never leave a nation slumbering, the people or society. One must provide incentives, and one must not fear presenting this issue directly and resolving it. Those are the privileges which I advocate. They should be legitimate, established, and merited. And a talented person in our country cannot... [changes thought] a talented person should, let us put it this way, have a comfortable life.

Urals people are raising the issue: Let us set our brains to work, let us think and go out into both the domestic and foreign market, and we will manage. Well, I think that, relying on this, we here can do some work together, and evidently come to an arrangement, so to speak. One must seek. I think that ecology means a problem of science, it means conversion.

There is such a concentration of defense potential, comrades. I have visited the machine-building works, and I will say that this is very important for us today. We are elaborating our national program for conversion—in the first phases, by scouting, groping, and using various approaches. So, we see that this is a serious mater, and that it is impossible to resolve it perfunctiorily. If we choose that road, choose improvisation without having thought everything out thoroughly, we may have lost the most well-qualified working class, well-qualified scientific cadres, and, I will tell you, the most modern plants. This, after all, is the social (?infrastructure). A plant, which was flourishing only yesterday, is today experiencing great financial overloads, and this is affecting everything—the availability of funds, and it is affecting the way people feel. Thank you, comrades. I am pleased with the meeting. [applause] I will take this away with me. [video shows Gorbachev waving a white booklet] Yes?

[Chairman of platform group] Many notes have also come in. I think that they will be studied. [end recording]

Gorbachev Remarks Stress Science, Technology

LD2604162390 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1208 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Excerpts] [Presenter] Sverdlovsk has just linked up with our "Panorama" studio. Well, you know, I have already said that today is the second day of the visit of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev to the Urals. And so, on the airwaves now are our special correspondents. Introduce yourselves please.

[Zorin] Igor Zorin.

[Khutoryanskiy] Yan Khutoranskiy.

[Presenter] Good afternoon.

[Zorin and Khutoranskiy] Good afternoon. Hello.

[Presenter] So, well, please tell us what marks the events there today.

[Zorin] Yes, on the second day of his stay on Ural soil, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev and his spouse laid flowers at the monument to Lenin on the 1905 Revolution Square in Sverdlovsk. Then the president visited, moreover, unexpectedly, a Sverdlovsk supermarket, I will put it thus, or more simply, a department store where he had lively discussions with customers.

After that the president visited the Ural electromechanical plant. It is an enterprise of the defense industry and, perhaps, more successfully than others, is carrying out conversion. It produces kitchen furniture, wonderful furniture and other things necessary for life, that is to say, equipment, including very good personal computers. Well, in general, conversion was the main theme of the president's conversation with designers and the chief specialists of that plant. As for the meeting in the workshop, it was short, perhaps because the workers of practically every workshop were rushing to meet the guest. Well, listen to a reportage from the workshop. [passage omitted]

[Zorin] In the afternoon, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev met the scientists of the Ural branch of the USSR Academy of Sciences, famous in the country for its mighty scientific potential. Annually, its scientists carry out various research work for the national economy, moreover, in most important, priority directions, to the sum of R450 million. Is that a lot or a little today? Now that new resource-saving technologies are so necessary, that the ecological situation in the Urals is so serious, and not only in the Urals, well, the scientists spoke of these topical and other problems of science. Moreover, I liked the fact that there were no requests, traditional in such cases, but the question was set on a broad scale. Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev expressed his opinion of these problems.

[Begin Gorbachev recording] In the center of the leadership there is an understanding of the significance and the role of the Urals, too. Moreover, we perceive both the concerns and the problems that have accumulated here. We must all think together about how to give the Urals its second wind. And that will not take place without us, either. How will the Urals look in the future? How will it draw from what there is here, how will it use that potential, natural, intellectual, scientific and technical. And how will it get rid of what has accumulated here as the result of the errors committed at the previous stage of the development of production forces. Life has forced the Urals to take a great deal upon its shoulders in order to save the country. Because, in general, the future, the near and the distant future of the Urals cannot be forecast without science. In general, I am satisfied that

there is much of use and interest taking place. You know, we must think thoroughly together about the fate of the Urals now. We have raised that question correctly. How has it happened that that mighty industrial kray, one of the most mighty in the country—the Urals occupy second place among the economic regions—has ended up with such old capital stock—a worn out rate of 40-60 percent. That whole mechanism must be changed. But, on the other hand, now we are obtaining, by that initiative, by that activeness, by those material incentives, as it were, some kind of first results, and so forth. But ultimately, movement ahead here ought to [words indistinct] be firmly based simultaneously upon scientific and technical progress and on new technology.

And not in this hall can it be said that something can be redistributed. For, well, for serious politicians, for serious scientists that, generally is rubbish, nevertheless, not serious. Therefore as we are resolving the questions of the radical economic reform, encroaching upon property relations, and entering a new form of economic life, via democratization and decentralization, and opening up people's initiative, we ought to think at the same time—it is not that we will think later of scientific and technical progress, but it means that there should be scientific groundwork as a minimum today. Because, I accept everything that has been said here, that science should not be underestimated. Such a careless attitude to the fundamental sciences may turn into most serious losses and drops in scientific and technical progress, and in the country's progress on the whole. [end recording]

[Zorin] Ending the live relay from Sverdlovsk, I will say that at the moment, Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is meeting with the aktiv of the Sverdlovsk oblast in the Palace of Youth. [passage omitted]

Gorbachev Repeats Call for Lithuanian Referendum

LD2604133790 Moscow TASS in English 1324 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Sverdlovsk April 26 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev has expressed hope for a "political solution" to the Lithuania problem.

Gorbachev was meeting staff at the major Uralmash mechanical engineering complex in the city of Sverdlovsk in the Ural Mountains on Wednesday.

Asked about the course that developments in Lithuania could take, Gorbachev said: "We are dealing with a leadership demonstrating adventurism and speculating on democracy."

"When deciding the crucial issue of the fate of the republic and people living there, an issue affecting the entire population of our multinational state, the deputies gathered at night, raised their hands, and decide everything. This is beyond any democratic framework," Gorbachev said.

"The president and the government have the mandate of the Third Congress of People's Deputies," he continued. "The constitutional system must be restored. It is imperative to return to the situation that existed in the republic on March 10, and to consider the issue after that."

"Divorce proceedings will require first of all a referendum," the president said. He stressed that "the popular desire to have an independent Lithuanian state can be satisfied within the framework of a federation. The most important thing is to decide these matters in a normal, constitutional way."

"We shall not depart from the mandate of the Third Congress of People's Deputies," Gorbachev emphasized.

Gorbachev To Visit Industries in Nizhniy Tagil

LD2704042290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0400 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev is making his first trip as president of the USSR. He is in Sverdlovsk Oblast. Today Comrade Gorbachev will visit Nizhniy Tagil, the center of the mining and metallurgical industry. It is proposed that he will familiarize himself with the Dzerzhinskiy district of the town. The country's president will visit the metallurgical combine and one of the country's major carriage-building works.

Discusses Defense Conversion

LD2704064690 Moscow TASS in English 0629 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Nizhny Tagil, the Urals, April 27 TASS—By TASS special correspondents: President Mikhail Gorbachev, who arrived in the city of Nizhny Tagil this morning, spent several hours visiting the Uralvagonzavod factory, the country's biggest producer of large-capacity railway carriages.

The president is expected to discuss the conversion of defence facilities with workers and specialists of the factory.

Uralvagonzavod, which launched the produciton of tanks during World War II, is switching over to the output of civilian products. It plans to manufacture equipment for the agro-industrial sector and the food industry.

Will Meet Local Activists

LD2704054790 Moscow TASS in English 0539 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Nizhny Tagil April 27 TASS—President Mikhail Gorbachev arrived in Nizhny Tagil this morning as part of his visit to the Sverdlovsk region.

The city is a major industrial centre in the Ural mountains, known for its steel-making and machine-building plants.

He is to visit the railway carriage building factory Uralvagonzavod and a metallurgical complex, where he will meet local activists.

Meets Railcar Workers

LD2704071190 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0500 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] The business trip of USSR President Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev in Sverdlovsk Oblast is continuing. Today he arrived in Nizhniy Tagil. The workforce of the Uralvagonzavod [Urals railcar works] Association met Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev. The USSR president devoted several hours to touring one of the country's largest complexes producing long-haul heavy-duty railcars.

Mikhail Sergeyevich intends to discuss the progress made with conversion processes with the association's workers and specialists. The enterprise, well known throughout the country, which organized the production of tank technology during the war years, is carrying out a package of measures connected with the transfer to producing exclusively peaceful output. The production of new equipment for the agro-industrial complex and the food industry is being mastered here.

PRAVDA on Gorbachev's Tour of Sverdlovsk

PM2704101690 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 27 Apr 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS Sverdlovsk report under the general heading "Mutual Understanding—the Bulwark of Perestroyka: M.S. Gorbachev's Meetings with Urals Labor Collectives"]

[Text] Perestroyka is above all people and concern for their vital needs. It was no accident that M.S. Gorbachev, who continued his acquaintanceship with Sverdlovsk on Thursday, focused his attention on the country's first youth housing complex. This useful initiative, born in the Urals 13 years ago, has become an asset of the whole country, and especially young people. Perestroyka gave it new impetus. After all, the housing question is unfortunately acute everywhere.

The food problem is equally acute in the country, and that includes the Urals. How can it be resolved most rapidly in the interests of Soviet people? This was the subject of the USSR president's discussion with customers and trade workers in one of the city's supermarkets.

M.S. Gorbachev inquired which food products and goods can be obtained and which are particularly difficult. People complained, in particular, about the shortage of fruit. This is the path to follow, M.S. Gorbachev said: The city should have enough storage facilities and conclude contracts for deliveries from the southern republics. There is no other way. What use is it, when there is no reliable base in Sverdlovsk for fruit and vegetable storage. A city like this has no business living on handouts and imported supplies. I know that storage facilities are being built here, but clearly matters are only moving slowly.

In Sverdlovsk's main square, which bears the name of the 1905 Revolution, the USSR president and CPSU Central Committee general secretary laid flowers at the V.I. Lenin monument. The glorious traditions of the Urals and its sons' and daughters' valor and loyalty to the motherland were discussed with war and labor veterans.

I greet you cordially, dear veterans, Mikhail Sergeyevich said to them, especially on the eve of the 45th anniversary of the great victory. The whole country is ready to pay tribute to the generation that did everything to defend our life, freedom, and ideals.

N.I. Mikhaylova-Gagarina, a veteran of the airborne troops, joined in the conversation. We are proud of what we lived through, she said, visibly moved. We thank the state for its concern about us.

As for me, Mikhail Sergeyevich replied, what always attracts me about veterans is their optimism, confidence, and calm.

One of those taking part in the conversation shared his concern: Sverdlovsk veterans are very distressed at the present complex situation in the party. The CPSU should remain cohesive and hold Lenin's banner firmly aloft. We want the forthcoming CPSU congress to be a congress of cohesion of party ranks on the platform of perestroyka.

We must renew society, M.S. Gorbachev said, fully uncover the potential of the socialist system, and boost the party's prestige through deeds. And we will without fail preserve our ideals and spiritual values and bear aloft the banner of our cause.

What some people do is this: They are supposedly in favor of the renewal process, but they are prepared to throw out the baby, as the saying goes, with the bathwater, they are ready to renounce socialism. We must, of course, examine ourselves in our own party home. If some people have now decided to take a different path, let them do as their conscience dictates. But we should consolidate as we approach the congress.

M.S. Gorbachev approached another group of citizens who wanted to know the president's view on the problems of the formation of a market economy in the country and his opinion of the draft laws that are in preparation and the paths toward economic recovery. A detailed and frank conversation took place on these subjects.

One question that stood out from the general picture was this: Why are talks not being held with Lithuania?

"We conduct talks with other states," Mikhail Sergeyevich replied, "but we regard Lithuania as a Soviet republic. If you remember, that is how the question was

formualted at the Third Congress of USSR People's Deputies. You and I are in the same position with regard to decisions of the Congress."

The Urals has forged weapons to defend the Motherland since time immemorial. A mighty defense potential has been created here. The new political thinking generated by perestroyka has enabled the country to reorient a significant proportion of the defense complex' capacities toward the production of purely peaceful output.

The course of this complex process is indicated by an exhibition of consumer goods on display at one of the enterprises under conversion—the Urals Electrical Equipment Plant. M.S. Gorbachev viewed the exhibition.

There are, as the saying goes, goods and goods. It is very important, the USSR president noted, to utilize the great intellectual and technical potential of the defense sector to obtain top quality output. The most up-to-date models of medical equipment, household electronic appliances, and video equipment are represented at the exhibition. It is important, it was stressed in the conversation, for these articles to go into mass production as soon as possible and become not exhibits in a show, but goods that everyone can buy.

A thorough dialogue on the problems being tackled by Soviet scientists and the development of the scientific potential of the Urals took place at the USSR Academy of Sciences Urals Department's Institute of the Physics of Metals.

Opening the meeting, G.A. Mesyats, chairman of the Urals Department presidium and vice president of the USSR Academy of Sciences, dwelt in detail on the main areas of activity at the Urals Department of the academy.

The majority of those taking part in the exchange of opinions drew attention to the problems of the development of fundamental science, noting the need to boost its prestige, update the material base, and strengthen higher educational establishments. In particular, they pointed out the conflict that sometimes arises between the interests of the development of fundamental science and the results of introducing market principles in the economy. A firm legislative base is needed, the speakers believe, to eliminate this trend.

Addressing the meeting, M.S. Gorbachev said, in particular: I hold the following view. There would be fewer mistakes in politics, it is valid, realistic, and effective, if it is based on scientific knowledge. Scientific forecasting of our progress is particularly relevant in the Urals, a region which plays an enormous role in the development of the whole country's production forces. The Urals took on too many of the country's concerns in its difficult years for us to continue to exploit it in this way today, without giving thought to anything except how to boost capacities and labor resources.

I have heard much that is useful and interesting in this auditorium, M.S. Gorbachev stressed. Now is the time, he said, for all of us together to think carefully, among other things, about how it has come about that such a mighty industrial region as the Urals, including Sverdlovsk Oblast, finds itself with such old fixed capital.

Reacting to the scientists' remarks, M.S. Gorbachev noted that he shares their concern about the state and future of fundamental science in the Soviet Union.

The president answered questions from participants in the meeting, which touched on problems of scientific and technical ptogress as well as the realities of today's sociopolitical situation in the country.

In the evening a meeting of representatives of Sverdlovsk Oblast's working people and party, war, and labor veterans with M.S. Gorbachev took place at the Youth Palace.

The meeting was opened by A.P. Gusev, first secretary of the oblast CPSU committee. The range of problems facing the industrial region, ways of radicalizing the economic reform, and the urgent need to tackle complex social problems were spoken of by V.M. Vlasov, chairman of the oblast soviet of people's deputies; N.I. Sova, electric welder at the "Uraltyazhtrubstroy" Trust; G.A. Mesyats, chairman of the USSR Academy of Sciences Urals Department Presidium; Z.A. Sudakova, director of Sverdlovsk's No. 18 School; and A.B. Blokhin, chief of the oblast's main health administration.

M.S. Gorbachev addressed the participants in the meeting. The speech will be published in the press.

Gorbachev Tours Ural Supermarket, Plant

LD2604145990 Moscow Television Service in Russian 0830 GMT 26 Apr 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] We have managed to receive the reportage we promised you earlier, and so, with Mikhail Sergeyevich in Sverdlovsk, here is today's update:

[Unidentified correspondent] The programs of all working visits around the country by state leaders always include inspections of local stores. The problem everywhere at present is what to trade in, but it is also important how to trade. Sverdolvsk Oblast holds 63d place in the republic for the provision of trading floorspace per 1,000 head of population. For the second day the people of Sverdlovsk are telling the president frankly that things are bad in the region, not only with regard to products but also with all goods. Shortages of the most essential goods, disproportionately high contractual prices, long lines—in a word, poorly stocked shelves. This is why the most acute questions are always raised in the stores. In Kirovskiy rayon of Sverdlovsk a difficult conversation was expected about everyday problems at one of the town's largest supermarkets. And that is how

it turned out. People are galled that they cannot even buy what they make themselves. [video shows streets scenes, a supermarket, Gorbachev talking to people in supermarket, cutting to Gorbachev talking to crowd of people outside]

[Unidentified man] Mikhail Sergeyevich, will we soon have manufactured goods in sufficient supply?

[Gorbachev] Well, you know, when I tell you now, well, you will say he has not done anything yet and there is still nothing. But if you take a look at everything, with the exception of when we granted rights to the enterprises, they began, in order to receive greater incomes, they started getting rid of cheap goods, and every enterprise did that. If you, for example, are dissatisfied that someone, somewhere there...[changes thought] What did they do with them? There used to be these and those cheap goods. And he himself wrote off a bicycle of this type from the output of his enterprise, too. And now he produces one of this type. He draws a cockerel on it, and for the cockerel—a mark-up of R5-7!

[Man] Why do they do things like that?

[Gorbachev] Well, it is economic independence. There are even...[changes thought] We are taking steps, we are checking this out, but how will we go out into the market, then, in general, everyone can command? So we sometimes give this direct experience to the enterprises, to work out their mechanisms for themselves, and carry out comparisons—without this it will not work. We are all learning, after all. Yesterday, at Uralmash I sat, we sat, from six until eleven. It is a completely different conversation. A year ago there was not such conversation, and no one even took it into his head. Let the management think! Now everyone has started thinking. When you talk about prices [words indistinct] for this reason, they are eroding the cheap goods, you see, and pushing the expensive ones. Everyone is trying, so that, without changing anything, without making a substantial increase , they can gain from the price. And this is having its effect on the product range. And when you take it like that, the commodity turnover, in the most recent years, in 1988 it grew by R25 billion, last year by R35 billion, and in each of those years our growth was 10-12 billion. That is, there is now already three times more commodity turnover, from commodities that don't exist. [video shows Gorbachev talking to crowd, cutting to film of Urals electromechanical works]

[Correspondent] It is no secret that the defense complex in the Urals is large. And the Urals electromechanical works was not even mentioned previously as a national economic enterprises. But the defense complex concentrates 75 percent of the country's scientific and technical potential. Such factories are now inspiring the hope that the most complex domestic and medical equipment, and furniture, will cease to be in acutely short supply. Just imagine, here they can make both a laser video recorder and artificial black caviar. At this exhibition the president and journalists were shown really exotic things. Conversion is a complex problem. You cannot readjust production at a single stroke. How can you transfer the highest quality of special defense items to consumer goods? How can the defense potential be used now, urgently, without damaging the interests of the people working in the defense sector? These problems were discussed with the president. [video shows staff gathered outside the factory, exhibition of household and electronic goods, Gorbachev at meeting]

Discusses Price Reform

LD2604123490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0600 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Today is the second day of Mikhail Sergeyevich Gorbachev's stay in Sverdlovsk. Here is our special correspondent Leonid Lazarevich.

[Lazarevich] The president has a full program in his visit to Sverdlovsk. Yesterday the meetings went on until nearly midnight, and there are plenty of such meetings today, too. A visit to the Urals electro-mechanical works is planned, meetings at the metals physics institute, and then another meeting at the House of the Soviets with the activists of the oblast.

Everything began with meetings at the Kirovskiy supermarket. This is a new shop in which everything is as usual; there is, of course, no abundance of goods, and there was no such abundance during the president's visit. The conversation also concerned what is sold in these shops, and of course, prices. Listen to a fragment of this conversation.

[Begin recording] [Woman]...Before 1 June, prices will go up...

[Gorbachev] No, no, no, yesterday I—did you hear yesterday? Just as we told you, that's the way things will be. But when we, as we said, approach prices, we'll start consulting with you. In the first place, we won't, as they are saying, Poland, shock treatment, abandon everything and let the market itself decide! We'll keep the prices of fundamentals with the state, especially during the transitional period; for example, food, we'll keep it with the state, certain fundamental goods. Furthermore, pensioners, [words indistinct], in general, compensation, social protection, all of this is necessary; we have to discuss all of this with you, otherwise, if we don't come to an agreement with you, you'll say, what sort of government is this we've got, which resolves such matters that affect the whole of our lives and turns things around like that, but they didn't talk to us themselves!

The way I said things would be, that's how it will be! When we embark on this, we'll start discussing it together. There won't be any—[interruption]. Well, I'll tell you. Yesterday a worker said to me, Mikhail Sergeyevich, you had told us, but the prices are going up. [interruption] Yes, Yes. Well, not only that. Not only that. Comrades! What I was saying, I would like to repeat now, too, and probably you'll remember this. I was

saying that reform of prices, of pricing, the whole reform, when everything is encompassed, we'll do this in one and a half to two years, and we will consult. But prices will constantly—[changes thought] and you at your enterprise, you're working there, you have produced new output, or something new, everything is going OK there.

What do the Urals need? It's not a handout, no, not a handout. The sort of conditions have to be provided, so that people can work, and some sort of, resovling of both the state and their own, develop by initiative, start addressing things then. [end recording]

[Lazarevich] The conversation was not, of course, about only prices,—about the budget, and about inter-relations between the Union republics. You know, the supermarket, it would appear, was a sore point, but they spoke about what is of concern to all of us, about perestroyka, about the future, about how we are to live. Well, those are the meetings today, and it is planned that tomorrow the president will visit Nizhniy Tagil, also a town where many unresolved problems have built up.

More on Gorbachev Meeting With Uralmash Workers

PM2604105490 Moscow TRUD in Russian
26 Apr 90 p 1

[Unidentified TASS special correspondent report: "USSR President M.S. Gorbachev's Meetings in the Urals"]

[Excerpts] Sverdlovsk, 25 Apr—USSR President M.S. Gorbachev today arrived in one of the country's biggest industrial and scientific centers.

Mikhail Sergeyevich was met at Sverdlovsk Airport by oblast leaders and representatives of the public. The traditional tokens of Russian hospitality were offered.

The trip to the Urals is taking place a week after the discussion at a joint session of the Federation Council and the Presidential Council of the USSR on ways to transfer the country's economy onto a controlled market economy footing. The fulfillment of this program, as M.S. Gorbachev stressed, is inconceivable without the consolidation of all forces committed to perestroyka and wide consultations with the labor collectives. [passage omitted]

Not even the most resolute radical programs can be implemented without... a good, businesslike mood. And naturally it was the workers' mood that came under discussion at Uralmash.

"I think, incidentally," M.S. Gorbachev said, "that as long as a person is spiritually strong, you cannot break him physically or lead him astray. The times now demand that much is cleared up. And much has already been cleared up. We are turning from rallies to action. And here we have much work to do. Otherwise we will become bogged down with talking. I think we must now start turning more decisively toward changes.

"But we must make this turn together," the president went on. "If you are not in favor of the turn, nothing will come of it. Turning such a huge country around is not an easy task. You have to turn it in such a way as not to destroy everything. Much will have to be changed and discarded. But not down to the very foundations.

"We now have everything to draw on. There is a mighty production base, but it must be brought up to date. There is suitable scientific potential. Our people are educated, but they lack incentives and responsibility. On the one hand incentives are necessary so as to give people a different attitude to their work. On the other, incentives do not spring up very easily, after all, the mentality has been developing over decades."

The president asked the workers this question:

"What do you think? Let us talk about it frankly now. Otherwise it will not work. Since we have decided to live better, this means everything must be changed. Beginning with ourselves. Unless we change ourselves, life will not change."

During the animated discussion that then began, the workers emphasized the urgent need to begin the changes by imposing order. Economic accountability is not really working. Last-minute rush work disrupts things. And then the people of Sverdlovsk do not even see what they themselves have produced in the stores. In short, market relations are still hampered by the traditional administrative barriers. Because, the participants in the conversation noted, people cannot yet feel a real return on their labor.

After an inspection of the welding unit's health complex and a visit to the "Kulinariya" store, conversations again sprang up on the association's territory.

The Uralmash people complain about the system of trade distribution relations. Why, they ask, are our excavators, drilling rigs, and freight cars dispatched on time to the all-Union market, while there is no trace in Sverdlovsk of Voronezh or Vilnius television sets or Moscow or Saratov refrigerators or other goods? Are all the plants in the country at a standstill? We in the Urals are working, and working well.

One steel worker made everyone laugh at first with this interjection:

"There is a new kind of 'festival' nowadays: Yesterday they were handing out lipsticks in our shop..."

But the joke was followed by a profound and serious discussion on the causes of our commodity crisis and the speculative demand which did not arise overnight, of course, but which has well and truly swept everything from the counters—from lipsticks to refrigerators.

"Everything that concerns you, concerns me," M.S. Gorbachev observed. "Of course, many problems have accumulated. And they must be tackled by all of us together, thoroughly. We are approaching this now and

introducing structural changes in order to bring all enterprises and every individual into the economic reform. We have inherited a very grave legacy, and time has begun to dictate the need for a major turnabout.

"Much work has now been done on a project for new prices, including those applicable to heavy industry. And," the president went on, "we want the enterprises themselves to take part in this work, in the preparations for acceleration. We must chew over all this together, and to that end study all the questions of radicalization of economic reform together for six to eight months.

"So if anyone now suggests to you the idea that with the new price policy people want to administer 'shock therapy' to you from above, do not believe it. We are not doing all this for the sake of the market as such, but in order to reach a new level of economic renewal through the market, through increased autonomy for enterprises, and threw new production ties and everyone's economic initiative. We have agreed that on every major aspect of reform we will consult with the working class. And that is one of the purposes of my meeting with you."

The conversation moved on from price reform in the country as a whole to "street prices," that is, those middlemen who trade in fruit everywhere, including Sverdlovsk.

"Why cannot the Uralmash people themselves, together with the deputies, resolve the question with these cooperatives?" Mikhail Sergeyevich asks.

Among the questions that the workers put to the president was this one:

"Can we expect that as a result of your visit to the Urals our life here will change for the better?"

"I expect the trip will deepen my ideas on the Urals," Mikhail Sergeyevich replied. "On the one hand, it is our country's backbone. The people of this vast area give very important, essential things not only to the Russian Federation, but to the whole country. This is the focal point of heavy industry. That is clear. On the other hand, this region's contribution is enormous, but its development lags behind. Capital has been invested in heavy industry, the defense sector has grown, but the social sphere has developed at a different rate, and also ecological problems have accumulated. I therefore think that we should all study the situation together and learn our lessons, draw conclusions, in the course of making predictions for the next five-year period. Matters must be organized here so that the Urals take more notice of people. If the Urals are given greater economic autonomy, they will be able to turn everything in the necessary direction and do much.

"In fact, this is how things stand: There is not much land here, it is a valuable asset for you, yet ancillary construction is poor. And here everything must be kept in tip-top condition, the milk yield per cow should be 5,000 liters, and crop yields should be higher. The land must be treated well so as to produce results.

"I cannot promise anything now," M.S. Gorbachev went on, "in relation to the substance of the question, and I think it would be frivolous on my part to make any promises. But it is a fact that I had already formed an impression in Moscow and am verifying it here. I am hearing very serious observations from you, I am hearing justified criticism."

After the tour of the enterprise, M.S. Gorbachev had a meeting in the plant management building with workers, engineering and tehcnical personnel, represntatives of the labor collective council, and the association's party aktiv.

A detailed account of the meeting will be published in the press.

During his visit to the plant M.S. Gorbachev viewed an exhibiton of consumer goods produced at Uralmash.

M.S. Gorbachev was accompanied at Uralmash by A.V. Vlasov, candidate member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic Council of Ministers; V.A. Yarin, member of the USSR Presidential Council; O.D. Baklanov, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee: A.P. Gusev, first secretary of Sverdlovsk Oblast CPSU Committee; and V.M. Vlasov, chairman of the oblast soviet of people's deputies.

Discusses Monetary Reform

PM2604131490 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 26 Apr 90 Second Edition p 1

[Own correspondents S. Kharkhanin, D. Usachev report on Gorbachev's 25 April "dialogues at Uralmash": "We Await Changes for the Better"]

[Excerpts] Sverdlovsk—Uralmash was the first item on the program for the president's tour of the oblast. [passage omitted]

Mikhail Sergeyevich's dialogue with the workers lasted about an hour. The Uralmash workers inquired about many things, but perhaps the main subject of the discussion was the economic reform. People are worried that it could lead to galloping price increases, which would result in suffering for pensioners, large families, and those who have the ordinary average wage. M.S. Gorbachev stressed that there will be no monetary reform, and gave an assurance that the "price question" is to be discussed comprehensively beforehand. At present metalworkers and miners are dissatisfied with prices for their output, and they are not alone. So there can be no delay here. [passage omitted]

Moscow TV Covers Gorbachev Uralmash Tour

LD2604115490

[Editorial Report] Moscow Television Service in Russian at 1700 GMT on 25 April in its "Vremya" newscast carries a 14-minute video report on Gorbachev's walkabout in Sverdlovsk and his visit to the Uralmash plant. The vide shows Gorbachev and others sitting around a table on a rostum, interspersed with shots of speakers and the audience. Addressing the audience, Gorbachev says: "But here you have your own, as it were, desires, wishes, demands, and judgments on all aspects of our life, on both domestic policy and foreign policy, on everything that worries you and that you would like to either bring up or to directly question in a spirit of openness, turth, and glasnost."

The correspondent then reports that Igor Ivanovich Stroganov, the general director of the Uralmash production association, gave a brief profile of one of the country's oldest enterprises. The video shows Stroganov addressing the audience. The correspondent explains that most of the proceedings took place in the form of a dialogue, and were relayed by the plant's radio to all parts of the enterprise.

The video returns to scenes of Stroganov speaking at the rostrum. Gorbachev says to him: "When you say that we shall now be embarking on methods of economic regulation already within the framework of a market economy, it is very important, as I understand, to solve the problem of these norms and deductions." Stroganov responds: "quite right." Gorbachev continues: "That's the central question. When you say we may ruin... that the calculations with which you are familiar may ruin machine-building..." Stroganov acknowledges, "yes," and Gorbachev completes his sentence, asking "what calculations and where did you learn of them?"

Stroganov then explains that deductions had to be paid by the association to the union and the republican budgets, causing a diminution of profits, which put the association in a poor position in the new profit-conscious environment of 1990. To this, Gorbachev replies: "And then both your technical progress and social programs are put in doubt." Stroganov says that this was true, adding that the association is well aware of the task that it must perform for the benefit of the state. Gorbachev begins to ask another question, saying "tell me," but then thinks better of the idea and concludes his remarks with; "I understand. There's no need to go on. I understand the idea."

The reportage then switches to a new sequence. Bashilov, director of the Tyazhmash Scientific Research Institute, identified by caption appears on the rostrum and speaks at some length on the association's use of scientific know-how to effect the automation of production processes, which would, in turn, benefit the consumer.

Gorbachev interrputs to ask: "And everything will also be all right with regard to reliability and productivity?" Bashilov tries to assure him that the answer is yes, but Gorbachev persists: "Will it be all right or not? Or will it be like one of our tractors or tractor-drawn implements? In other words, a new model with small modifications. The productivity is said to be 20 percent higher, but it is actually 10 to 12 percent, and the cost is up by 50 percent or 100 percent." Bashilov asures him that all the machines guarantee high reliability and outline recent advances in the quality of the association's output, enabling it to meet world standards.

Gorbachev goes on to say: "One further question. Your director Igor Ivanovich, has spoken, and, during conversations at the factory with workers, everyone is concerned to know whether we will have a market economy and what will happen about social security, as it were, both from the point of view, in particular, of there being food and goods for which the state has fixed the prices, and from the point of view of low-income strata and, in general, compensation and so on. Everything is correct. These are all correct questions. But how are the country, society, and our economy to protect themselves from the monopoly position of Uralmash?"

Bashilov says that he understands, and there is some amusement in the hall. Gorbachev then continues: "It is the same problem. The director said that everything that is more than 2,500 [meters deep] is bored by our drilling machines. That's the situation. What can be done to get rid of that monopoly postition? Otherwise no normal market will get under way in our country. It's a monopoly. How is the monopoly to be destroyed? Or is it the other way around? Then legal restrictions are needed."

Bashilov then says that the monopoly position must be ended. The association is now having to compete with foreign firms, and that is the way things are going he says, "since the ruble will be convertible within the country". Gorbachev comments: "The ruble has to be made convertible and the market opened up to foreign producers and suppliers." Bashilov welcomes this possibility, stressing that Soviet industry must be able to compete with foreign firms. The sequence concludes with a video shot panning the meeting.

The reportage then switches to a new sequence: a discussion between Gorbachev and A.S. Osintsev, deputy general director of the "Uralmash" production association, identified by caption. The following conversation takes place:

Gorbachev says: "Take the market. What is a market? It is a certain system, a market infrastructure. The use of all these levers in a market economy requires the presence of certain institutions, that's just that. That is to say, exchanges are needed, banks are needed, credit institutions, commercial institutions, all of these and so on. And how do you see it? Who should help enterprises find their consumers and bring them together, so to speak, help them to conclude these contracts as quickly as possible, find them, and jointly?.. [Gorbachev changes

thought] After all, if this isn't there, you don't feel the market. And that's the end of it. Well, Pavel Ivanovich Mostovoy is sitting here. He has interesting ideas. That's why we took him from the Ukraine, because already even within the framework of that system, he was looking for all these methods of approach. And what would you say? We are greatly interested in this. This will be one of the reasons to which economists will refer. What is a market? We are totally losing the control of resources, of the process of the inflow of resources. And what will happen? How do you see it?"

Osintsev replies: " Shall I tell you my own view, Mikhail Sergeyevich?"

Gorbachev answers: "Yes."

Osintsev says he believes that middlemen are not needed here. The enterprises should do everything themselves, including finding their consumers and marketing their output, and they should be in charge of their income minus what has to be given up to the state. An unseen man interjects: "As long as there is a seller's market?" Osintsev responds: "I mean market relations." Bashilov adds: "In other words, one also has to change over to other output." Gorbachev says: "After all, generally speaking, after all, generally speaking [repetition as heard], Comrade Mostovoy, let's say, he now represents here the system of material and technical supplies. There is no better base in the system now than his. If one disregards it and if one does not organically incorporate it in the new relations, then we can do foolish things. And can something be done for the wholesale trade to operate there?"

Osintsev says that a system of exchanges is undoubtedly required. Another man interjects that the main thing then will be not buying, but selling, and where and to whom. This is something that Gorbachev endorses wholeheartedly:

Gorbachev says: "This is the way we have to evolve. The problem also is, indeed, in what form we should keep the market, in what form we should keep the market. We have now destroyed it and are, on the whole, unable to take it in hand. That is where the entire problem now lies. And people no longer have any faith, are buying up things, buying things: this agitated state does not allow the economy to function and work normally. That is why, of course, all this must be thought through so that we, especially at the initial stage, when these instruments are only being put together and are not yet operating, so that, you know, the working class should not come up to us and say: What do we need that reform for if everything there is even worse, there is not anything anywhere, you cannot get things, resources do not arrive, we are idling without anything to do, and so on."

Osintsev responds: "But a regulation of prices, Mikhail Sergeyevich, at the first stage, so to speak, of the transition to the market economy, is necessary, nevertheless. Without it, we probably cannot live."

Gorbachev asks: "You mean some leading groups of goods?"

Osintsev answers: "Yes, yes."

Gorbachev says: "Which determines and affects life? Well, power engineering, probably?"

Osintsev responds: "Well, yes."

Gorbachev says: "(?This is something basic.) Everything else will then depend on this: prime costs and so on, throughout all enterprises? Probably such groups? Is that the case?"

Osintsev answers: "Yes."

Gorbachev says: "What has caused the anxiety over the past few weeks in our society, when we again started talking about the radicalization of the reform, about the fact that we must proceed consistently with big strides toward a market ecoomy, but weighing things up carefully? What, on the whole, has caused fright and alarm in society? What would you say?"

Osintsev points out that everyone understands that a change over to a market economy will not be without losses and without a drop in the volume of output, and also that unemployment will probably be inevitable. Gorbachev replies:

Gorbachev says: "But if it is a matter of [changes thought] I see that everyone—those who spoke and those with whom I chatted while walking around—everyone understands that we must go this way."

Bashilov says: "We must go this way."

Gorbachev says: "But we must go this way, having thought through and weighed up everything, and having consulted people, so that not only the center is in the know, or that only economic cadres or others are in the know. But people in labor collectives must understand what it is all about. And, after all, first, we do not want to rush at breakneck speed toward the market. Never mind, let the elements put everything in its place! Here such an approach is unacceptable, and I think that we, so to speak...[changes thought] This transition toward, as I have already said, this is not an act of despair, but is our well thought-out line. So we must first—about which everyone here spoke—hold prices, especially a tthe initial stage, in order to keep control of process, to regulate things. Second there must be measures of social protection. And f4rom the point of view of those who are poorly provided for, who are on salaries, compensation in various forms is necessary. I am not speaking of the types of compensation now. Finally, one must think that in production a process of regrouping of manpower, and then of release, will get under way. But here, listen, the undeveloped cooperatives are only just beginning. The sphere of services here is not developed. We have such great pressures on shopping space. Everyone in the world has already gone through this. The correlation all over now is such that the number of those working in the

non-production sphere even outweighs the number of workers in the produciton sphere. And as a rule their number is about the same. And in our country, what is that correlation so far? Everything is the other way around, you understand, and what other way way around: on the whole, everything in production. So we still have much work to do. We can employ people. Another matter is that a retraining and qualification system and an action plan, and so on, are needed. All this is correct, and people must know about this. This is correct. I think that today things occur in our country—there are places where people are unemployed and have nothing to do, that is, where are we not thinking through and completing things. Well, if we do things like that, comrades, this is, on the whole, as if we don't do anything. And one can only, so to speak, say that Leaving things to run their course is always ruinous for society. This probably is not understood. I think that our people must simply know that, as we said before—I have already replied here to workers at uralmash—we will keep our promises. When we are ready for a conversation with people, when we think things out, we will consult people, and as soon as there are some measures which have been weighed up and thought out, we will submit them for our society to judge. Things must be studied everywhere, in each region and in each collective, generally speaking."

Luzhkov Elected Executive Committee Chairman

LD2604224790 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Today, as the first session of the Moscow City Soviet was held, the question of putting forward a candidate for the post of chairman of the Moscow Execeutive Committee was studied by the newly elected body of deputies. Deputy Popov, chairman of the Moscow City Soviet, recommended Yuriy Mikhailovich Luzhkov, acting chairman of the Moscow Executive Committee, for this post. As a result of a secret ballot, Luzhkov was elected by a majority of votes as chairman of the executive committee of the Moscow soviet. [passage omitted]

Vows Market Planning Switch

PM2704121590 Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 27 Apr 90 Second Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Moscow City Soviet Session"]

[Text] Moscow, 26 Apr—At the first session of the Moscow City Soviet currently being held, Yu.M. Luzhkov—who had been filling the post for a week already—was elected chairman of the city soviet executive committee by secret ballot.

Speaking about the tactics for the work of the future executive committee, he drew deputies' attention to a whole complex of measures designed to overcome the capital's food and accommodation crisis, and he answered many questions posed by those present.

"The current Moscow City Soviet advocates a rapid switch of the capital's economy to market relations," Yuriy Mikhaylovich said. "I too actively support this line, but with the stipulation that we will not allow Muscovites' living standards to fall. It is a false illusion that you can go to asleep in a plan system and wake up in a market system. A gradual but rapid replacement of centralized planning by market planning is necessary. If we manage to organize this process, our affairs will look much rosier."

Moscow Soviet Chairman's Plans Outlined

90UN1573B Moscow RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA in Russian 22 Apr 90 pp 1, 5

[Article by A. Nadzharov: "Moscow Is Not Easily Impressed—A New Chairman of the Moscow Soviet is Elected"—all quotations marks are as published]

[Text] **During the night of 21 April all the weight of the problems of the megalopolis of 9 million fell on the shoulders of eminent economist Gavriil Popov. He was the one elected by the deputies as the new chairman of the Moscow Soviet. He replaced in this post V. Saykin, the former ZIL director, who a couple of days ago was appointed deputy chairman of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Council of Ministers. S. Stankevich was elected deputy chairman of the Moscow Soviet.**

During V. Saykin's 14-year term of office the city streets became difficult to drive on, the stores half empty, and the air and water extremely polluted. Actually, the same thing can be said about any city in the country, which is experiencing the bitter consequences of a decade of stagnation. But Moscow, the capital of a great state, is special: It is a disgrace to the capital and it is a disgrace to the country. But even this bitter feeling, alas, has not motivated Muscovites to become active in the elections to the capital parliament. Little more than half of the voters participated.

The second "unusual thing" is that in a city where there are thousands of industrial enterprises workers won only 12 of the 442 deputy positions.

I do not know whether or not they were among the 280 who voted for G. Popov, but one thing is clear: In voting for him it was necessary to vote for more than unpopular decisions. For the free market on which the new chairman of the Moscow Soviet insists means above all freedom of entrepreneurship. And this means that almost all consumer goods, and particularly grain, meat, vegetables, and dairy products, will take a sharp leap in price if he translates his idea into reality.

In an interview with a RABOCHAYA TRIBUNA correspondent G. Popov said that this is precisely why it is necessary to immediately develop special economic mechanisms that compensate underprivileged people for the expected reduction in their standard of living.

In general Moscow's problems are like a mirror image of the problems of our other cities. For example, it would be good for the country to eliminate 40 ministries. But for Moscow, in G. Popov's opinion, this would mean the appearance of 300,000-400,000 unemployed people. For various reasons they simply could not work in some other capacity since they have not mastered production occupations. And the cooperators are not likely to be interested in hiring these people. In brief, such a reduction is a serious problem for Moscow. The second problem, which is also a difficult one for the capital, is the changeover to a market economy. In any city varying prices opens up certain prospects for eliminating disproportions that have accumulated. But what does it mean for a city where there are 1.5 million pensioners and a half million students plus 2-3 million people with fixed incomes?

The new chairman has certain ideas about this. In particular he thinks that for the underprivileged it is necessary to immediately create 30-50 free dining rooms and dozens of stores with free clothing. There should be philanthropic organizations and dispatcher points where one could call and offer certain things and people would come and pick them up, clean them, and give them to people who need them.

The most important task, in G. Popov's opinion, is to put city finances in order.

"Now," he says, "the city is receiving more than 1.5 billion in subsidies. Therefore it looks as though the city is spending R4 billion plus the 1.5 billion issued at its request. But actually Moscow annually puts almost R3 billion worth of products into the common storehouse. It turns out that part of what we have given is returned to us in this variant: Go, beg, bow, and say thank you."

The same thing with housing. I do not think we will manage to do anything serious in two to three years, but we must begin to think in a new way. For example, we could give people their own housing free of charge. Or there is this scenario: There is a lot of vacant land in the city. Why not make it possible for some enterprise or cooperative to build 20-30 cottages? Paid housing, privately owned housing, cottages—these are quite possible variants of development whereby exchange with additional payment will cease to be almost a crime and will produce an advantage for both the city and its residents.

Our discussion has already touched upon the order of priorities developed by G. Popov: problems of the poor and housing... But there are also the problems of environmental protection and public health.

"This is where we would have to start if we were to list Moscow's problems in order of importance," emphasizes G. Popov. "In my view, first place in the order of priorities, in spite of the gravity of all the other problems, should go to the ecology. Just think! There are 400 operating sources of radioactive radiation in the capital. And what are we breathing? Hence the poor condition of the health of the population and the enormous rate of infant mortality.

"So the order is this: ecology, medicine, housing, city economy, and philanthropy?"

"Yes, but we still must take into account the fact that these problems are interconnected and interwoven..."

"In a word, they are very complex. And in order to solve them we must have absolute confidence in the new chairman. But here we have far from unanimous voting plus publications that have appeared recently concerning your basic views on the paths of development of our economy and policy. For example, when Yu. Afanasyev was in Tokyo, as the press wrote, he spoke out in favor of turning the Kurile Islands and Sakhalin over to Japan."

"Yu. Afanasyev came out with this idea. But I think that in the northern territories, as they say in Japan, we should create free economic zones with numerous joint enterprises, permit citizens of both countries to move there freely, and after a certain period of development, resolve the problem of who the islands belong to with their participation."

As concerns my scholarly views, during the course of work involving deep reflection, of course, they have changed. In fact I used to be in favor of a centralized economy until I became convinced of the advantages of a market economy. But that happened a long time before perestroyka began, and I have received a good deal of criticism for this. Even when a lot having to do with this became obvious, I received a reprimand through party lines for publishing my views in...PRAVDA.

I must add that in the seventies I finally parted with my illusions about the ability of our economic system to heal itself. In general one thing was piled on top of another, particularly the final failure of the Kosygin group, people who were at least trying to do something... And right then the attacks on Yemelyanov—a current USSR people's deputy—began. He was the head of our department. He did not do anything special—he complained too much about our agriculture. And I tried to cover him and received a reprimand.

G. Popov took charge of the city soviet at an alarming time. Therefore the questions asked of him are alarming, including those of a personal nature. It must be admitted that Gavriil Kharitonyevich understands this and answers in such a way that there are no "blank spots."

He was born in Moscow but he spent his childhood and youth near Novocherkassk. Hence his southern accent and his emphasis on the wrong syllable in the word "khozyayeva" [masters]. He is 53 years old. He is of Greek descent. All his life has been linked to Moscow University. He has a three-room apartment there in the building for teachers. He also has a dacha in the writers' village near Moscow. His position before the elections was that of an instructor at Moscow State University and

editor-in-chief of the journal VOPROSY EKONOMIKI. How did he become a candidate for the post of chairman of the Moscow Soviet?

"I did not prepare for this and, moreover, I did not aspire to it. But the fact is that there is a certain logic during the course of political developments when the events lead people instead of the people leading events. During this year it became absolutely obvious that the Interregional Group of Deputies could do nothing at the level of the Union. Endless speeches and paperwork—all this absolutely does not work... Attempts to convince people that it was necessary to create some different kind of system of power produced nothing either. And then it became clear to me that it was impossible to change this from above.

"Then there was the question of whether it was possible to do anything about it at all.

"This is how I came to the idea of trying the local elections and trying to form local soviets."

In my opinion it was an honest answer but I personally am bothered by the fact that Gavriil Kharitonyevich has so little experience in management. He also has a foggy idea of the city soviet of people's deputies he heads and its executive committee, whose chairman he thinks should be a person from the old ispolkom guard, a city management specialist. One gets the impression that G. Popov is counting on the ispolkom as a co-worker which will execute the decrees of the city soviet in a disciplined way.

But will the soviet and its chairman be able to win real authority simply by a decree? And, after all, the entire country is looking to Moscow. Will the democracy which, in G. Popov's opinion, has been victorious here bring good results? The new chairman does not expect significant changes for the better in the next three to four years. And remember this his term of office is five years. While congratulating Gavriil Kharitonyevich on his victory in the elections I would like to express the hope that this time will not be only a time of acquisition of management experience for him. For up until 21 April he was essentially only a scholar-theoretician.

A couple of days ago life itself presented him with his first practical experience in relation to the unsolved city problems—when he ran over a pothole in the street he practically broke his Volga. Let us hope that this incident will not be a sign of trouble for the new chairman.

Further Reporting on Work of Moscow City Soviet

90UN1573A Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian
22 Apr 90 Morning Edition p 4

[Article by V. Shchepotkin: "New Moscow Soviet Chairman Elected"]

[Text] **On the fifth day of its work, the First Session of the Moscow City Soviet of People's Deputies of the 21st Convocation elected a chairman of the Moscow soviet. He is USSR People's Deputy, Doctor of Economic Sciences Gavriil Khritonovich Popov.**

I would call that day one was the most productive in the work of the Moscow Soviet of the new convocation. Of course there was plenty of tension this time as well: When there is such a polarization of views in the hall it is difficult to keep seething passions in check. Even in spite of the extremely skillful and steady control of such a diverse meeting on the part of Yu. Vinogradov, who was in charge. But on the whole a certain "parliamentarianization" of behavior can be observed.

But that, as they say, is by the by. The main thing is the outcome of the day. Many have spoken and written about the fact that G. Popov was most likely to become chairman of the Moscow Soviet. Including myself. And this does not take any perspicacity. The Democratic Russia bloc, which has the "controlling package" of mandates—it includes almost 300 deputies—long ago named the eminent politician as its candidate for the post of chairman. People had a fairly good idea of whom the Moscow bloc would nominate: A. Bryachikhin, the first secretary of the Sevastopolskiy Raykom [rayon party committee] who, moreover, recently became the chairman of his rayon soviet. In addition, they also nominated S. Stankevich, I. Preobrazhenskiy, O. Kachalin, and E. Bakirov. On top of everything else one of the deputies, N. Kaburneyev, nominated himself for the post of chairman.

S. Stankevich and E. Bakirov withdrew their nominations. The rest were ready to compete.

After a brief presentation of their programs and responses to written and oral questions and after a turbulent discussion of the candidacies the voting began. It was almost night before it was over. I have already given the results: Having received 280 votes the head of the Moscow Soviet of People's Deputies is G. Popov. I. Preobrazhenskiy, representative of the "independents" and chief of personnel at the All-Union Correspondence Polytechnical Institute, received 82 votes. There were 44 deputies who voted for the candidate from the Moscow bloc, A. Bryachikhin.

And so there is a new power in the Moscow Soviet. Although the Democratic Russia bloc is as multicolored as a spring meadow in its political leanings, they still voted consistently for their candidate thus giving him not only immense power but also colossal responsibility, for hardly anybody needs to be told how many problems face the immense, unruly city.

How does G. Popov, the new leader of the Moscow Soviet, intend to solve them? His ideas are widely known, he is constantly expressing them in the press, on television, and in parliament. Therefore in his program speech G. Popov was brief, using only 12 of the 15 minutes allotted. I too shall present them briefly for I think that in the near future there will be many speeches by the new mayor of Moscow to the voters and to

journalists. He said he considered this to be the main issue: How such a gigantic city as Moscow could live under conditions of transition to a market economy. For it is quite obvious that all the ties the city has formed in the past will not work in the new system. Recently Uzbekistan decided to stop shipping goods that are in short supply outside the republic. Approximately the same thing could be done by other independent soviets that appear in various regions of the republic. And under these conditions it is necessary to immediately think about what Moscow can give the country in exchange for the things its residents need.

The second group of issues is related to how Moscow will function under the conditions of democratization. It is the Moscow Soviet that will have to organize life in the capital under a multiparty system, under conditions in which not only will there be various factions in the city soviet but there could also be rayon soviets and ispolkoms [executive committees] with various orientations.

One more problem. The elimination of many industrial ministries will be a boon to the entire country. The entire country will breathe freely in a couple of months when they are eliminated. But for Moscow this means hundreds of thousands of people without jobs.

Speaking of ways to solve the numerous and complex problems facing the Moscow Soviet today, G. Popov said that this could be done by activating the corps of deputies and also by making them more professional. We must reach a point where each deputy who wishes to transfer to work in the Moscow Soviet can receive normal wages.

G. Popov devoted a good deal of space in his program speech to the interactions between the Moscow Soviet and its ispolkom and to supporting an apparatus that is capable of operating in a highly professional way and with civic responsibility. He emphasized that the basic questions of the life of the city, must be brought up on referendums; it is necessary to have a center for studying public opinion; they should have their own newspaper and magazines, and, perhaps, it would be worthwhile to lease a television channel from the Central Television Administration.

But the work of the session did not end with the election of the chairman of the Moscow Soviet. Ahead of them are the elections of the deputy chairman, the formation of the presidium of the soviet, and, the most important thing, the formation of the immediate working organ: the ispolkom of the Moscow Soviet.

Gidaspov Reelected Leningrad Party Chief

LD2704105990 Moscow TASS in English 1050 GMT 27 Apr 90

[Text] Leningrad April 27 TASS—Boris Gidaspov defeated four other candidates and was reelected Leningrad Communist Party chief in a secret vote at a joint session of the 29th regional and 27th city conference of Leningrad's Communist Party organisation.

The session continues its work.

Leningrad Communists Meet, Criticize Open Letter

LD2504205290 Moscow TASS in English 2016 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Leningrad April 25 TASS—Communists who assembled today to attend the joint 29th regional and 27th city conference of the Leningrad Communist Party organisation were sharply critical of a number of issues, including the open letter of the Soviet Communist Party Central Committee to the country's communists and the recent initiative congress of the Russian Communist Party which was held in Leningrad.

The present conference, attended by delegates representing 600,000 party members, is thus taking place in a complicated political situation.

Boris Gidaspov, first secretary of the Leningrad city and regional party committee said in his report to the conference that there exists an objective necessity and regularity in the process of society's radical renewal and restructuring, which began five years ago. Soviet people pin on this process their hopes for a better, more dignified life, Gidaspov stressed.

The Leningrad party chief admitted that the present state of the party and society is grave. The crisis of the Soviet Communist Party, he said, has reached the point, beyond which the question arises if the party should continue to exist. The complexity of the moment is determined also by the fact that negative phenomena are on the increase in the economy and the social sphere. People are talking ever more often not only about the mistakes committeed in the past but also about serious blunders made lately.

Leningrad communists see the way out of the grave situation in the renewal of the Soviet Communist Party, its further democratization, the expansion of rights of primary party organisation and the granting of more independence to them.

Speakers stressed the need to strengthen party influence on work collectives, to restructure political organizational work and consolidate party ranks.

Politburo Member Yuriy Maslyunkov, who is also first deputy prime minister of the USSR, is taking part in the work of the conference.

Report on Leningrad Rally Supporting Lithuania

90UN1553B Vilnius EKHO LITVY in Russian 10 Apr 90 p 2

[Report by unidentified Leningrad TASS correspondent, special to ELTA: "A Rally in Leningrad"]

[Text] Leningrad, 9 April—A rally attended by thousands of people was held last Sunday in Palace Square, Leningrad. The rally was organized on the initiative of the newly elected deputies of the Leningrad Soviet and national societies of the city, and was devoted to the anniversary of the April tragedy in Tbilisi. The theme of internationalist support for the path Lithuania has chosen sounded passionately along with words of mourning, compassion, and condemnation. "Hands off Lithuania!", "Let Lithuania go before the term and without the confiscation of assets!", "Gorbachev, what do you need the Baltic area for?"—these and other slogans eloquently described the attitude of those assembled.

People's deputies N. Ivanov, B. Kurkova, A. Sobchak, and A. Boltyanskiy, representatives of the social-democratic bloc, and leaders of the Christian Democratic Union who spoke at the rally called for not giving in to the provocations fanned by the politicos of yesterday. The speakers stressed that the likelihood of a recurrence of the Tbilisi events in any other hot spot is still too high. Lithuania is no exception. Along with the words of support, appeals for prudence, restraint, and a search for a reasonable compromise were made.

Referring to the service of the young men of Lithuania in the Soviet Army, Deputy A. Sobchak said, among other things: "Many politicians call on the Lithuanian young men not to serve in the Soviet Army. This immediately exposes them to criminal penalties under the legislation in effect, and this is why it cannot always be justified."

The participants in the rally adopted a resolution which views the April events in Tbilisi as a crime against humanity. The demand to give the peoples of Lithuania and Georgia independence was adopted unanimously. A resolution sent to USSR President M. Gorbachev on the inadmissibility of the use of force for resolving political conflicts in Lithuania was read.

Despite the complete absence of the Leningrad militia, the rally proceeded in an organized manner, without conflicts of any kind.

Lenin Rally Example of 'Authorized' Event

PM2604105790 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 25 Apr 90 p 2

[Reader's letter "From the 'Dialogue' Mailbag" followed by Moscow Internal Affairs Main Administration response: "Moscow Cordoned Off?"; first two paragraphs are letter]

[Text] I heard that since the USSR President's Decree banning rallies and demonstrations within the Sadovoye Koltso there will be no rallies in Moscow at all...
V. Kuzmenkin, Novosibirsk.

No, of course not, we were told at the Moscow City Soviet Executive Committee Internal Affairs Main Administration. The President's Decree actually regulates the holding of mass demonstrations in downtown Moscow and we are adopting all the requisite measures to implement it. But there are several areas for demonstrations and rallies in Moscow outside the beltway where authorization will be given in the old way. Incidentally, at one of them—the Exhibition of National Economic Achievements—there was an authorized rally on 22 April in defense of Lenin which attracted, according to our estimates, more than 10,000 people.

Leningrad Party Plenum Prepares for Conference

90UN1418B Leningrad LENINGRADSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 22 Mar 90 p 1

[V. Koshvanets report: "Acting Precisely and Harmoniously"]

[Text] Little more than a month remains until the opening of the joint 29th oblast and 27th city conference of the Leningrad CPSU organization scheduled, as already reported, for 25-26 April. The progress of preparations for it was examined yesterday at a joint plenum of the Leningrad Obkom and Gorkom [oblast and city party committees].

Opening the plenum, B.V. Gidaspov, first secretary of the Leningrad Obkom and Gorkom, emphasized that the new procedure of nominating delegates for the conference and the formation of executive party authorities and the most abbreviated timeframe of the whole preparatory work required particular precision in its organization and implementation.

But what is the situation currently? The report delivered by obkom Secretary A.M. Fateyev adduced the following facts. Practical preparations for the conference are underway in all districts of Leningrad and the oblast. The raykom [rayon party committee] and gorkom plenums have discussed problems of holding rayon and city party conferences and debated the best times for the organization of reports and elections in the primary party organizations. The prevailing opinion on this question is as follows: The report and election campaign in the "primaries" should be initiated after the 28th CPSU Congress.

As far as the joint conference is concerned, party districts for the election of delegates thereto by secret ballot on a multiple choice basis have now been created everywhere. There are 754 such districts in Leningrad, including nine multi-seat districts, and 178 in the oblast. Party meetings for the nomination of candidates for delegate and for the executive party authorities are being held in full swing.

However, there is still considerable confusion in some organizations not accustomed to such a fast pace of preparatory work, and voices calling for a postponement of the joint conference are being heard.

Incidentally, a proposal that the conference be "deferred" until May was also heard at the plenum. But it was not supported by those present.

We need to learn to work precisely and rapidly!—such was the plenum injunction to the party organizations.

The plenum approved the composition of the electoral commission for the election of delegates to the joint conference, delegates to the 28th CPSU Congress, and members of executive authorities of the Leningrad party organization.

The structure of the apparatus of the obkom and the Leningrad Gorkom will also change in the course of preparations for the conference. The participants in the plenum were notified of the planned unification of obkom and gorkom departments of the same profile, and that as a result the numerical composition of departments would be reduced 27 percent.

Although brief, quite a tense debate was conducted at the plenum on the second item on the agenda—confirmation of the Leningraders' representative on the preparatory committee for the Russian party conference. As is known, such a committee is being created in accordance with decisions of the CPSU Central Committee March Plenum.

Is this not an attempt to reduce to nothing the idea of holding in April a constituent congress of the RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] Communist Party?—this was how certain participants in the plenum put the issue. However, it was decided to fulfill the decision of the CPSU Central Committee plenum: The plenum unanimously nominated V.A. Tyulkin, secretary of the "Avangard" Science-Production Association Party Committee, to the newly created preparatory committee. B.V. Gidaspov will work here also. The plenum simultaneously confirmed a readiness to assist the Leningrad Action Committee for a Constituent Congress of the Russian Communist Party Within the CPSU.

Information on the preliminary results of the elections to the Russian and local soviets was presented at the plenum by V.Ya. Khodyrev, chairman of the Leningrad City Soviet Executive Committee, and Yu.F. Yarov, chairman of the Leningrad Oblast Soviet Executive Committee.

V.K. Mironov, senior organizer of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the plenum.

Leningrad Oblast, City Committees Hold Conferences

LD2604203290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1500 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] The Leningrad report-back and election oblast and city party conferences continued their work today. A resolution was passed concerning the report-back paper of the CPSU oblast and city committees and also concerning the political situation in the city and the oblast. The conference decided to refrain from appraising the work of the oblast and city CPSU committees [obkom, gorkom] and to take cognizance of the report. The Leningrad Obkom has been elected and as for the CPSU Gorkom, it will no longer be in Leningrad.

The members of the obkom have been previously elected at rayon party conferences, in okrugs and in grassroots organizations. The conference began to elect, on an alternative basis, the first secretary of the Leningrad obkom.

Cooperation Stressed

LD2604203590 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Leningrad communists consider that the preservation of the party as the main political force in the country capable of leading it out of the crisis is their paramouint task. They spoke about this at the joint Leningrad oblast and city party organization conference. The delegates stressed the need for close cooperation between the party and the newly created democratic institutions of power, and they expressed themselves in favor of genuine democratic centralism in the interests of the CPSU's integrity and unity. Maslyukov, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and first deputy chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, spoke at the conference.

Report on Meeting of Democratic Russian Deputies

90UN1559A Moscow ARGUMENTY I FAKTY in Russian No 16, 21 Apr-17 Apr 90 p 4

[Article by unidentified ARGUMENTY I FAKTY correspondent: "Candidacy Named"]

[Text] The second meeting of RSFSR [Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic] people's deputies who are members of the "Democratic Russia" bloc was held on 14 April in Moscow.

The deputies familiarized themselves with the draft Declaration "On the Sovereignty of Russia." It states, in particular: "The people of the Russian Federation are the bearers of sovereignty and the source of state authority. The people implement it within the context of the Constitution of the republic through its representatives and by means of a referendum."

The draft "Decree on Authority" states that the "Congress of People's Deputies of the RSFSR announces its assumption of absolute state authority on the territory of the RSFSR. Henceforth, no political or other public organization has the right to impose its will on RSFSR organs of state authority and administration. Any encroachment on the authority of the democratically elected soviets of people's deputies on the part of public-political organizations must be stopped immediately and with full resolve."

The elaboration of amendments to the RSFSR Constitution is an important element in preparation for the congress.

Possible aspirants to the post of chairman of the RSFSR Supreme Soviet were considered at the deputies' meeting. Ten candidacies were put forth. As a result of alternative elections, the candidacy of RSFSR People's Deputy B.N. Yeltsin received a majority of the votes of the "Democratic Russia" bloc.

In the opinion of members of the "Democratic Russia" bloc, the congress will have to work approximately four weeks for a serious consideration of all of the items on the proposed agenda.

Ligachev, Stroyev Attend Oblast Party Conferences

PM2604153390 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Apr 90 Second Edition p 2

[TASS report under the general heading: "At Party Conferences"]

[Text] Tyumen, 25 Apr—More than 750 delegates representing 156,000 Tyumen communists gathered today for the oblast report and election conference. They heard a report from the party obkom [oblast committee] and auditing commission.

Ye.K. Ligachev, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the conference's work.

Ufa, 25 Apr—The conference delegates heard a report from I.A. Gorbunov, chairman of the oblast party organization's interim bureau. It was set up following the collective resignation of members of the Bashkir CPSU Obkom Bureau.

The delegates representing the autonomous republic's 230,000 communists are summing up the results of their activity and electing the obkom first secretary on a contested basis.

Ye.S. Stroyev, secretary of the CPSU Central Committee, took part in the conference's work.

Tyumen Oblast Conference Reports on Party Meeting

LD2604225290 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] The 21st oblast party report-back and election conference deemed unsatisfactory the work of the Tyumen Oblast Party Committee [obkom]. That is how the delegates, with an absolute majority of votes, evaluated the situation which has arisen in the region. The conference elected a new obkom membership, auditing and control commission, and the first secretary of the oblast party organization. The names of five of 13 candidates were included on the secret ballot. As a result (Chertyshchev), chairman of the Turkmen republican Committee of People's Control, was elected first secretary of the Tyumen Obkom.

Participating in the conference was Ligachev, CPSU Central Committee Politburo member and CPSU Central Committee secretary.

Bashkir Oblast Selects New First Secretary

LD2604222690 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1800 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Serious shortcomings in the style and methods of work, and adherence to the command-administrative system of leadership, as well as inability to find correct solutions in a complex political situation—such is the evaluation of the activity of the Bashkir CPSU Oblast Committee at the party conference which ended today.

Seven candidates were put forward for the post of obkom [oblast party committee] first secretary. As a result of a secret ballot, Gorbunov, who had worked as the first secretary of the Ordzhonikidze CPSU Rayon Committee of Ufa, was elected.

Stroyev, CPSU Central Committee secretary, took part in the work of the conference.

Western Republics

USSR Marks 4th Anniversary of Chernobyl

Ryzhkov Cites Cleanup Figures

LD2604195490 Moscow World Service in English 1500 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] Thursday marks four years since the tragic accident occurred at the nuclear power plant in Chernobyl. Prime Minister Nikolay Ryzhkov has told the Moscow daily MOSKOVSKAYA PRAVDA that R9 billion has already been spent on programs to deal with the tragedy's effects, and another R16 billion will be allocated for the purpose.

He said the latter sum is equal to this country's annual national income growth. A recent meeting of the Presidium of the Council of Ministers, Nikolay Ryzhkov said, discussed a program of urgent measures concerning the contaminated areas.

Religious Services Held

LD2604210290 Moscow TASS in English 2022 GMT 26 Apr 90

[By TASS Correspondent Aleksey Petrunya]

[Text] Kiev April 26 TASS—April 26, which was announced by the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Presidium as "Day of the Chernobyl Tragedy", began in Kiev with molebens [religous services] for people affected by its consequences in all churches and cathedrals in the republic.

A rally of thousands of people began on Bogdan Khmelnitsky Square at 18:00 after the Moleben. Scientists, writers, religious workers, and representatives of various public organisations, among them the Ukrainian Popular Movement for Perestroyka (Rukh) and the Zeleny Svet Republican Ecological Association, spoke about the

huge material and moral damage caused by the Chenobyl accident to the Ukrainian people.

Many speakers voiced support for the appeal by the Ukrainian Council of Ministers to the governments and the public of foreign countries and international organisations for aid to clean the consequences of the Chernobyl tragedy, and cooperation in developing and implementing technical, medical and ecological measures to protect people's health.

Calls were heard at the rally to do away with the monopoly and diktat of various agencies, primarily those responsible for nuclear energy. Speakers emphasised that eliminating the consequences of the accident was an all-union and international matter, which could not leave anyone indifferent.

After the rally, participants observed ten minutes of national sorrow for the people who suffered as a result of the chernobyl accident. Sirens wailed out and candles lit up in people's hands. Traffic stopped running for ten minutes.

Gomel Workers Stage One-Day Strike

LD2604184790 Moscow TASS in English 1625 GMT 26 Apr 90

[By TASS correspondent Viktor Kotov]

[Text] Gomel April 26 TASS—Workers at the Gomel farming machinery-making amalgamation (Gomselmash) staged a one-day strike today to mark the 4th anniversary of the Chernobyl nuclear power plant accident.

Thirty-five thousand machine-makers, backed by more than twenty enterprises in this Belorussian city, demanded that the republican programme on clean-up operations be granted the status of national law in an address to Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev and other leaders of the Soviet Union and Belorussia.

The workers demanded that authorities decide already this year to close down the Chernobyl nuclear power plant.

The workers believe that the city of Gomel and the region around it should be proclaimed a disaster area, and farming activities should be banned in places where ecologically clean produce cannot be grown.

Aleksandr Bukhvostov, chairman of the Gomselmash trade union committee, told TASS that the workers were unsatisfied with the Soviet parliament's measures for clean-up operations. They described the decisions as half-measures and the efforts by authorities to create safe conditions for the population in the affected zone as insufficient.

Bukhvostov said that a city strike committee will be set up in May to assume control over the ecological situation in Gomel.

Pilot Plant To Decontaminate Chernobyl Planned

LD2504150790 Moscow Tass in English 1427 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Text] Moscow April 25 TASS—A pilot installation to decontaminate materials and equipment in the Chernobyl nuclear power plant zone will begin operation late this year.

A contract on its development was signed by the USSR Ministry of the Nuclear Power Industry and the West Berlin Recytech firm, the GOVERNMENT HERALD weekly reports today.

About 165,000 tonnes of contaminated metal now have been lying in the Chernobyl zone since April 1986.

The pilot installation of he Recytech firm can decontaminate up to five tonnes of metal per day. A tiny film with radioactive particles is removed from its surface by electrolysis.

The radioactive background of cleaned metal does not exceed the natural one.

The pilot plant's productivity is clearly insufficient, the weekly notes. It will take about 100 years to decontaminate all 165,000 tonnes of metal.

Therefore, the contract provides for manufacturing a commercial plant with higher productivity in the Chernobyl area.

For this purpose the Soviet production amalgamation Pripyat and the Recytech firm will evidently set up a joint venture.

Ukrainian KGB Discusses Smuggling of Goods

PM2604154990 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 26 Apr 90 Second Edition p 6

[M. Odinets report: "Smuggling: It Happened on the Border"]

[Excerpts] Kiev—Ukrainian newspapers have published a report on a Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] KGB Collegium sitting which considered the question of measures to step up the fight against organized crime. It says, in particular, that Ukrainian KGB organs have recently revealed and averted attempts by individual corrupt officials to take advantage of expanding foreign economic ties to smuggle raw materials in extremely short supply out of the country.

Hungarian citizen Gyula Szabo, who is in Uzhgorod settling down at the "Unitekhnika" cooperative, which was set up as a Soviet-Hungarian joint venture but was not registered by the USSR Finance Ministry, is an enterprising foreigner; he has busied himself shipping Western computers to Soviet clients. [passage omitted]

These and other facts indicate great shortcomings in the work of the customs service on the border Admittedly contraband worth more than R15 million has been

seized recently. Personnel from Ukrainian SSR KGB and Lvov and Transcarpathian Oblast KGB Directorate units fighting organized crime, collaborating with militia and customs bodies, have revealed and put a stop to criminal activity by 11 groups of smugglers who were trying to illegally export large consignments of industrial goods. Links have been discovered between individuals and foreign smugglers. Goods worth R1,800,000 have been confiscated in relation to the criminal proceedings against Citizen M. alone.

Ukraine Increases Public Disorder Penalties

PM2604080990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 26 Apr 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Correspondent Sergey Tsikora report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Penalties Increased"]

[Text] Kiev—Penalties "for actions against public order and citizens' security" have been increased in the Ukraine.

A recently adopted Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet Presidium Decree provides for stricter accountability for seizing state or public buildings, preventing the normal work of enterprises (up to 5 years' loss of liberty), preparing leaflets urging pogroms or the violent expulsion of people (a fine of up to R500 or 1 year's corrective labor), and spreading false rumors causing panic among the population (a fine of up to R300).

One point in the decree is worth quoting in full: "The granting by officials of premises, transport, or technical resources for the holding of meetings, rallies, street processions, or demonstrations in violation of the established order or the creation of other conditions for organizing and holding the aforementioned events shall entail a fine of up to R1000."

Student Clash With Police Reported in Kiev

90UN1405A Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 4 Apr 90 First Edition p 1

[Colonel A. Polyakov and Major V. Bilan report: "A Meeting Under the Banners of Bandera"]

[Text] Kiev, 2 April—Both in the press and from the rostrum of the union parliament bewildered cries are being heard with increasing frequency: Why are they striking; why are the laws we have passed not working? But one does not have far to go to answer this. It is because those who themselves pass the laws are also on strike and in particular are not complying with them.

Several days ago representatives of Rukh applied to the appropriate organs for permission to hold a meeting on 31 March, and a demonstration in Kiev on 1 April "in support of the right of Lithuania to secede from the Union." The city's Moskovskiy Rayispolkom [rayon executive committee], and then the gorispolkom [city executive committee], did not welcome these actions, rightly judging that such measures serve merely to inflame passions and aggravate the confrontation in Lithuania.

However, on 31 March at exactly 1400 hours, as planned, USSR People's Deputy V. Yavorivskiy personally opened the unsanctioned meeting. For him, as for all those who were waving above the crowd Bandera banners and the slogans "Colonial Ukraine Welcomes Free Lithuania" and "Take Your Dirty Hands Off Free Lithuania," political ambitions were above the law.

The next day hundreds of young people organized by the so-called "Alliance for Independent Ukrainian Youth" gathered near the Kiev State University to protest service in the Soviet Army and put forward a demand to set up their own army for a "independent" Ukraine.

When a militia cordon blocked the exit against the excited groups onto the busy main highways of Kiev the demonstrators threw themselves at the militia bodily. No such thing had been seen before... Later the flushed "democrats" organized a noisy antiwar campaign at the premises of the garrison commandant's office.

And after this, one well might wonder for whom the laws were written.

Voroshilovgrad Appeals to Rename Oblast

PM2504131590 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Apr 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent Nikolay Lisovenko report under "Direct Line" rubric: "Lugansk Again"]

[Excerpt] At the very first session of Voroshilovgrad Oblast Soviet deputies decided to appeal to the Ukrainian SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet for the renaming of the oblast and the oblast center Lugansk Oblast and Lugansk respectively. [passage omitted]

Caucasus

Drivers Halt Freight Trains in Armenian Rayon

PM2604204590 Moscow SELSKAYA ZHIZN in Russian 27 Apr 90 p 4

[TASS correspondent V. Shulman report plus reply by V. Starikov, chief of a directorate of the USSR Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) Internal Troops Main Directorate, to TASS Correspondent N. Demidov questions, under general heading: "Train Drivers... in Extremists' Gunsights"]

[Text] Baku—After freight trains traveling along a section of the Azerbaijan railroad on the territory of Armenia's Megrinskiy Rayon came under fire on 20 April, rail traffic between the republics was interrupted. Locomotive crews from the Dzhulfinskiy depot refused to take their trains through that section.

"We are sick of risking our lives, we are literally in their sights, and after all we all have families and children," train driver R. Muradov said. "I myself have heard the whistle of bullets a number of times while driving my train and I've seen engines and cars from our Nakhichevan branch with bullet holes in them."

Staffers of the Azerbaijan Internal Affairs Directorate for Transport and Azerbaijan Transport Prosecutor's Office have established that the freight train operated by driver Muradov came under automatic gunfire at 1930 hours Moscow time on 20 April. A GAZ-52 and a Kama truck which were being carried on the train were holed. The drivers, who were traveling with them, were fortunately unhurt. A criminal file has been opened and an investigation is being conducted.

"On the same day," A. Alekperov, Azerbaijan prosecutor for transport and state legal counselor 3d class, said, "our staffers had to open another file. At 2150 hours another freight train was fired on, again from automatic weapons according to the expert investigation, as it passed through Megri station."

"The measures designed to ensure the safety of railroad workers and the movement of trains which we devised together with the USSR MVD are still not working," E. Abdullayev, chief of the Azerbaijan Railroad, said. "Meanwhile the national economy is suffering both in the Armenian Soviet Socialist Republic and the Nakhichevan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic.

TASS Correspondent N. Demidov put the railroad workers' question to V. Starikov, chief of a directorate of the USSR MVD Internal Troops Main Directorate:

"On the sections of railroad concerned, every train without exception is escorted by internal affairs details. But judge for yourself, how can a few servicemen really counter extremists, especially when the latter cannot be seen. The landscape in the area where the train was fire on is complex and mountainous with a large number of paths directly overlooking the track. We could use armored trains. But who can guarantee that the track won't be mined?

"In general I think," Valeriy Petrovich went on, "that it is the leaders of the two republics who must establish order here by finally coming to the negotiating table and finding a compromise solution."

Azerbaijan Party Official Interviewed

LD2604091690 Baku BAKINSKIY RABOCHIY in Russian 13 Apr 90 p1

[Interview with A.N. Mutalibov, first secretary of the Azerbaijan Communist Party Central Committee by All-Union Radio special correspondents, not further identified; date and place not given: "Topical Interview: Having One's Own Clear Picture"]

[Text] A.N. Mutalibov, first secretary of the Azerbaijani Communist Party Central Committee has given an interview to All-Union Radio special correspondents. The conversation was broadcast on its first program and also on the first program of Azerbaijani radio and by the Araz radio station. The interview was also broadcast by the foreign broadcasting service of USSR Gosteleradio in 56 languages. Unfortunately not everyone had the opportunity to hear it. At readers' requests we are publishing the full text of it today:

[Correspondent] Ayaz Niyazovich, the events which occurred in March on the border between Azerbaijan and Armenia rocked the entire republic and rocked Baku, and to be honest we expected alarming events. In any event, it has often been the case in Azerbaijan that conflagration has followed provocation. We were very fearful this time, too. And we were very pleased that this time, against this complex background, the republic's leadership was able to control the situation for the first time in the last two years. However, we see this as nothing more than the light at the end of the tunnel, for the situation in Baku and the republic remains very complex. There are still forces provoking the people both from outside the republic and, unfortunately, inside it. But the problem is as acute as it is because they are finding support among broad sections of the population. And that is because there are social problems which are crying out to be resolved. That is why completely intolerable things are occurring.

[Mutalibov] I have a clear view of the fact that, of course, we do have social problems and they are getting worse. And I say that with regret. The measures which are being taken are not producing such swift results. That is probably explained by the depth of the problems that we have. At the same time, regarding our republic I would like to say most seriously that social problems would not be able to rock the Azerbaijani public, although these problems do exist. They are ecological problems, poor infrastructure, and relatively low living standards. The prime cause of the situation and the escalation of events is the people's pain and suffering as a result of the events which began back in February 1988 in the NKAO [Nagornyy-Karabakh Autonomous Oblast] and surrounding it. And so the March events amount to direct aggression, if one can call it that, by certain forces. I do not want to say that the Armenian people support these actions—that would be unobjective of me—but this is a link in a chain of so-called measures aimed at destabilizing the situation in the region. Why did we succeed to some degree, despite people's indignation, particularly in rayons which suffered attacks by bandits, in averting general indignation and, so to speak, the additional complications which had already arisen here in Baku? Probably because we have spent two months engaged in active work to strengthen the positions of the Communist Party, to bring the party and the people closer together, and to explain to broad sections of the working people and the republic's population the true aims of the provocations which have been occurring for over two

years now. And the people believed this. The people understood. And as a result we succeeded in preserving them from showing spontaneous indignation which always thretens unpredictable results in such cases. At the same time, as you have quite rightly noted, the situation remains tense and, in my view, perhaps the most terrible thing is that probably our neighbors have seen their leadership structures slip into becoming a conglomeration of public movements which watches what is happening rather than taking measures. If they hear this then let them receive it as party-style criticsm because that is the sort of thing that we had here.

[Correspondent] Forgive me, but we could have said the same thing about Azerbaijan a year or eight to nine months ago. In your view what has changed in the last couple of months?

[Mutalibov] What has changed is that we have taken up a firm position. Whatever the motives—sovereignty, the integrity of the republic and so on—the republic's party organization must have a clear position and a clear plan of action. We suffer at the same time when there is unrest among the people. And that is perfectly normal. We cannot have a platform which is remote from the people. Of course, together with the people we have defended and will continue to defend the sovereign rights of the republic aimed primarily at protecting its integrity. But at the same time it is not appropriate for the Communist Party, as the most mighty representative party, to give in to emotions or to allow destructive elements and even movements to abuse the situation. So we took up a firm position and now the results are in evidence. If I can put it this way we have revived the feeling of responsibility of party committees in the localities and they are moving out of a phase, so to speak, when they unwillingly contemplated events as they unfolded spontaneously into a phase when they actively influence the events and prevent conflicts. The main thing indeed is that they are coming out of their offices and working with the people. This work is continuing. It cannot be said that we have done everything.

[Correspondent] Does the start of this process provide any guarantee that the terrible explosions of emotion and the atrocities which occurred in the republic will not be repeated?

[Mutalibov] I think it does. But in many ways such a guarantee depends on the understanding of the Center. The point is that there are problems which it is the Center's prerogative to resolve. And of course, the Center must take up a firm position on this otherwise the unambiguous and firm position of the republic on issues which are not its prerogative cannot save the situation. We very much hope that our law and order system—I mean the relevant all-Union structure, will be able to secure the safety of the population of Azerbaijan. That is perhaps the main condition which we hear as we travel around all over the place. There is nothing else that the people wants, except that there should be no attacks, no casualties, no pogroms. Because it does not matter which side is behind any provocation. What matters is that any provocation should be met by responsible action. The very possibility of tit-for-tat actions must be prevented. And what is needed here is for the Center to firmly implement the range of measures which it is simply obliged to implement. That means getting rid of armed gangs and their objective and public disarmament. The people must know, let us say, how many fighters have been disarmed in Armenia and what has been confiscated in Azerbaijan. People simply have to be reassured that this is not a one-sided process but an objective, bilateral one. Then there will be mutual trust, trust in the republican authorities, and therefore trust in the Center. And at present, it must be said, that trust does not exist.

[Correspondent] Yes of course, generally speaking what sort of peace can there be when people know that on the border of the two republics, and not only on the border, there are perhaps thousands of firearms concentrated which could fire on peaceful people at any moment? What sort of security is that, what sort of peaceful life is that? But this situation has not just lasted for a day or two, or even just a month, but a year now and still, unfortunately, the weapons have not been confiscated either here or there.

[Mutalibov] People are indeed worried about that. You are quite right to say that they are worried. First of all, people cannot understand where the weapons are coming from. Our republics do not produce weapons. So where do the weapons come from? There must be a colossal leak somewhere. There must be something wrong, perhaps, in the Armed Forces or the law and order bodies which are supposed to guard their arsenals. In other words, they must rule out any possibility of any weapons falling into the hands of destructive elements. Secondly, there must be immediate general measures to disarm the gangs. Otherwise, do you know where it will lead us? Do you know the meaning of mortars, cannons, rockets, armored personnel carriers, helicopters with the identification markings erased? And that is happening before the very eyes of the authorities. What does it matter whether it is republican or central authorities? We are part of a federation. It makes no difference to people who it is that is failing to guarantee their security, the local leaders or the Center. I am a frank man and the center is organized in such a way that sometimes they say to me there: You are there on the spot, you have the authority, so it is you who must keep order. And I ask what authority do I have? Given the centralization that exists what do I have? Do I have an army or legions of some sort? I have nothing. My weapons are party influence, words, propaganda and, in the final analysis, appeals and requests. But nowadays, with the system that we have, with pluralism of opinions what we say is also said by the opposition but meaning something different. All this must be understood because the law must operate here. Without a basis in law, without the range of documents needed for law and order to be maintained it will, of course, be very difficult to safeguard the democratic development of society both as a whole and in the region.

[Correspondent] A great deal of emphasis is now being placed on formulating new laws in accordance with the times at the USSR Supreme Soviet and having them adopted at the Congress of People's Deputies. But in my view it is no less important for those laws which exist now to be effective, because if the law is ineffective then there is lawlessness and that means violence, tyranny, and barbarism and all sorts of most terrible things. It must be said that the Central Committee Buro's report at the recent plenum of the Azerbaijani Communist Party Central Committee was received by the people with real understanding and with interest. And now you will be involved in the report-back and election campaign in the party and preparing for the next congress of the republic's Communist Party.

[Mutalibov] Yes, of course, the campaign will be complex but we are not losing hope that we will succeed in emerging from this campaign as a monolithic cohesive unit. I am not simply repeating terms which we are all accustomed to hearing. We heard that sort of thing in the past as well. But in the present situation the monolithic cohesion of the Communist Party has a somewhat different meaning. And we must certainly avoid a split. In my view nothing good would come of a slit. And naturally we shall try, as we said at the plenum, to see that events happen in such a way that we formulate a platform which could be accepted by all communists as the only correct one to which there is no alternative. That will be the guarantee of the monolithic cohesion of the Communist Party of Azerbaijan. The trust which we feel in the report by the Central Committee Buro is also something new in our work. It is confirmation that we are moving away from rubber-stamping and stereotypes and from well worked smooth phrases. We have started calling a spade a spade. We have started saying what we mean and that has been received with approval. A fairly tough policy of self-citicism is being implemented. It is not just stereotyped self-criticism, for there have been times when we have played at self-criticism but softly-softly, so to speak. But in this case there were pretty harsh words and they were spoken sincerely. And so they were accepted by communists and members of the plenum and by society in general. There is another thing that I want to say: Communists want to see their party, I am talking about the Azerbaijani Communist Party, being more independent than perhaps it has been so far. I understand that view of the Communist Party and I see this as a guarantee that it will continue to be the main guiding and coordinating force in conditions of a pluralist political system. Therefore, we intend to be quite serious about determining the degree of independence of the Azerbaijani Communist Party. We are thinking of putting our view of the independence of the Communist Party, which will guarantee the growth of its prestige, forward for communists to consider.

More on Armenia-Azerbaijan Rail Accord

PM2404152790 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Apr 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent Asim Dzhalilov report under "Direct Line" rubric: "Accord Reached"]

[Text] Baku—An agreement has been signed in Azerbaijan's Zangelanskiy Rayon between Armenian and Azerbaijani representatives on normalizing train traffic along the Megri section (Armenia) of the Azerbaijan Railroad.

For almost two years this 46-kilometer stretch of track between Karchevan and Megri has served as a kind of detonator of confrontation between the neighboring republics. Attacks on freight and passenger trains, attempts on the lives of passengers and railroad workers, explosions on the tracks, and refusals by train crews to take out rolling stock have essentially produced a blockade. The populations of both republics suffer equally from this, and the damage done to the economy is estimated at tens of millions of rubles.

The meeting devoted special attention to fulfillment of the USSR Supreme Soviet resolution of 5 March 1990 "On the Situation in the Azerbaijan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and Armenian SSR and Measures To Normalize the Situation in This Region." It has been decided to take exhaustive measures guaranteeing the prevention of attacks on population centers and railroad workers and ensuring trains' safe passage. A state of emergency had been introduced along the Megri section.

An accord has also been reached on exchanging information connected with the prosecution of persons who have committed unlawful acts along the Norashen-Megri-Mindzhevan-Kafan section since July 1989 to the present day.

The refugee question was discussed.

During the meeting, the sides recognized the need to focus the efforts of party organizations and law-enforcement organs on preventing ethnically motivated conflicts. In the opinion of both sides, strengthening multilateral ties and looking for ways to achieve mutual rapprochement and compromise solutions is the only reasonable way to normalize the situation in the region.

Georgian Interfront Initiative Discussed

PM2604110990 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Apr 90 First Edition p 1

[Lieutenant Colonel V. Kaushanskiy report: "Oil on The Flames"]

[Text] Tbilisi—Surely no event of late has fired such a pitch of emotions in Tbilisi as the fuss connected with the attempt to create an interfront movement in Georgia. Oil was surprisingly poured on the flames by Zviad Gamsakhurdia, chairman of the Georgian Helsinki alliance. Furthermore, the local television service provided him with a fairly extensive platform for doing so.

In a TV interview later reprinted by VECHERNIY TBILISI he directed the public toward the authors of the provocative appeal—people whom he claims to know. I quote: "We have information... that interfront is, so to speak, directed by officers from the artillery school and,

specifically, by Lieutenant Colonel Zenkin...." So, a successful "witchhunt" in our own home. We should say what we think of them right away. "I want to warn the authors of this statement," Gamsakhurdia pointed out, "that it will do them no good. I am warning them so that they do not do this on any account. I say with the utmost gravity: We will not permit such a rally. They shouldn't even think about it. But if there is honest dialogue on their part, if there is mutual understanding, we will speak quite differently. As for those who declare war on us, we in our turn will declare war too."

A lengthy quotation but an impressive one. Not just in terms of its threatening tone—the military are already used to that at rallies stage-managed by the opposition. It is the pronouns which create the impression. On the one hand "I" and "we," on the other "they." That is to say, the representatives of the "army of occupation." Because that is the only name the "intransigents" use for people in military uniform. You will notice how he plays with pronouns in the style of the Roman emperors who, as is well known, were fond of pontificating in the Senate: "My people and I," but who prefer to see the supporters of pluralism as gladiators in the arena but on no account sitting alongside them.

The military's reaction? VECHERNIY TBILISI recently published a letter from a group of officers of the Tbilisi Artillery School under the eloquent headline "We Dissociate Ourselves from This Malicious Libel." Major General V. Tsyganenko, the school's chief, has sent N. Lekishvili, first secretary of the Tbilisi city party committee, a letter which clearly states that the higher educational institution's multinational collective resolutely protest against attempts to portray the school as an ideological center and organizer of interfront. Particularly at a time when anti-Army feelings are being inflamed in the republic not without opposition participation.

The provocateurs were sharply rebuked in a letter published in LENINSKOYE ZNAMYA, the [military] district newspaper, by reserve officers, veterans of the Great Patriotic War and Armed Forces, and representatives of Georgia's Russian-speaking population.

And now the people of Tbilisi who attended a rally in Vake park last Sunday have had to urge the republic's population to show unity.

Not everyone heeds sensible appeals nowadays, however. Shots rang out in the very center of Tbilisi at around 2 am Tuesday. It happened near the telegraph building and the Institute of Modern Georgian Social and Political History, where the opposition headquarters are located. The militants who opened fire with revolvers and automatics created not just a panic but a real threat to people's lives. Two people were wounded.

An investigation into the shooting incident has begun.

Central Asia

Kazakhstan's Supreme Soviet Session Continues

Nazarbayev Elected President

PM2604140790 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 25 Apr 90 Second Edition p 2

[KAZTAG-TASS report: "Kazakh President Elected"]

[Text] Alma-Ata, 24 Apr—The Law on Introducing the Post of Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] President was adopted at the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet session, which opened today. Justifying the introduction of this post, the participants in the session noted that it was made necessary by the renewal of the Soviet federation on the basis of genuine sovereignty and the equality of union republics. The creation of a rule-of-law state objectively means that there must be a division of power at republic level as well.

The deputies also voted for the introduction of a special chapter in the republic's Constitution, "The Kazakh SSR President," defining his powers as well as the counterbalance mechanism designed to prevent presidential power from growing into a regime of personal power.

The Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee plenum continued its work in the interval between the session sittings. Its participants recommended N.A. Nazarbayev, first secretary of the Central Committee, as candidate for the presidency. This concluded the plenum's work.

N.A. Nazarbayev was elected first president of the Kazakh SSR at the Supreme Soviet session which recommenced after the interval.

Republic President N.A. Nazarbayev remains first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee, combining his duties in accordance with the Kazakh SSR Constitution law.

Officials Elected

LD2504224490 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 1400 GMT 25 Apr 90

[Excerpts] The first session of the 12th Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet continued is work. The morning session was chaired by Deputy (Shalkhamanov). The floor was given to Nazarbayev who submitted a proposal to elect Tereshchenko as vice president of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet. He has been working as first deputy chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet. The Supreme Soviet then elected Tereshchenko as vice president of the Kazakh SSR. After that, the session moved on to examine the election of the chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet. [passage omitted]

The candidacies of Deputies Asanbayev, Nurkadilov, and (Sartayev) were considered in the election of the chairman of the republican Supreme Soviet. Asanbayev

was elected chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet by secret ballot. He spoke at the session. The evening session was chaired by Asanbayev, the new chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet. On his proposal, Deputies Abdildin and (?Fedosov) were elected deputy chairman of the republican Supreme Soviet. A decision was adopted on the procedures for covering meetings of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet and its standing commissions and committees by the mass media. (Astayev) was approved as editor of the newspaper HALIK KENEGESI [PEOPLE'S DIALOGUE] and (?Tarasov) as editor of SOVETY KAZAKHSTANA of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet. The deputies adopted a decision on a statement by the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers on relinquishing their authority.

Nursultan Abish-ogly Nazarbayev, president of the Kazakh SSR submitted a proposal for the Supreme Soviet to consider appointing Deputy Karamanov as chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers. [passage omitted]

The Supreme Soviet adopted a decision appointing Karamanov as chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers. Karamanov delivered a report of the upcoming program of the government and the composition of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers. The session is continuing.

Karamanov Confirmed as Premier

LD2604120490 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0330 GMT 26 Apr 90

[Text] A session of the supreme body of power of the republic will continue in Alma-Ata. Yesterday, the session adopted a decision on the appointment of Karamanov as chairman of the Council of Ministers of Kazakhstan. He has already being carrying out these duties for several months.

New President Interviewed

LD2604223790 Moscow Television Service in Russian 1430 GMT 26 Apr 90

[From the "Vremya" newscast]

[Text] The first session of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet of the new convocation is taking place in Alma-Ata. The president of the Kazakh SSR was elected at this session. Our correspondent interviewed him. [N.A. Nazarbayev, president of the Kazakh SSR is identified by caption, video shows Nazarbayev and correspondent seated next to him on sofa]

[Nazarbayev] Why do I believe that presidential rule is necesary in the republics? Because the new Supreme Soviet, say, the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, for all intents and purposes, is not the head now. Because even earlier, the chairman of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet had more powers than now, because all legislative power and all other power has passed to the deputies themselves, directly to the Supreme Soviet. And the chairman of the Supreme Soviet, for all intents and purposes, as you say correctly, is the speaker who must organize the Soviet's work. And in these conditions, first...[corrects himself] second, the party is now retreating from government functions.

[Correspondent] It is lifting its power.

[Nazarbayev] Yes, its power functions. And it is retreating from being a prop for the administrative, departmental system. It is occupying itself with and is hanging over to political methods, while the local soviets have not really taken power because the laws passed have not begun to work. And in order to gradually transfer this power, which the party had, to the real master, so to speak, presidential rule is needed. This is the first point.

If we say that all republics under our Constitution are equal, sovereign states, this equality must also be confirmed and the republic must be represented by a supreme official in the person of the president, who will be a member of the Federal Council...[corrects himself] the Soviet of the Federation attached to the USSR president. And questions of strengthening discipline, questions of interethnic relations, the need to sometimes adopt emergency measures: They simply demand such a power institute as the president of the republic.

Yesterday's decision by our session is a logical continuation of this matter and I believe that it fits in with the thoughts of the majority of our republic's multiethnic population.

Turkish Envoy Meets Kazakhstan Officials

LD2504165590 Alma-Ata Domestic Service in Kazakh 2300 GMT 24 Apr 90

[Excerpt] Volkan Vural, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of Turkey to the USSR, visited Alma-Ata 22-24 April. The guest was received by Nazarbayev, chairman of the Kazakhstan SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet and first secretary of the Kazakhstan Communist Party Central Committee. At a meeting, which was held in a friendly atmosphere, the ambassador acquainted himself with the development of the foreign economic relations of the republic and the opportunity for export. Mutual interests were shown in expanding the economic, trade, and cultural relations between Kazakhstan and Turkey. Ways of planning cooperation were also discussed.

Taking part in the meeting were Karamanov, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Council of Ministers, and Arystanbekova, minister of foreign affairs of the republic. [passage omitted]

Two New Weeklies Published in Kazakhstan

PM2504112990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 24 Apr 90 Morning Edition p 2

[Own correspondent Eduard Matskevich dispatch under the rubric "Direct Line": "Kazakh Deputies' Newspapers"]

[Text] Alma-Ata—Two new republic newspapers have come out, one in Russian, the other in Kazakh: SOVETY KAZAKHSTANA [SOVIETS OF KAZAKHSTAN] and KHALYK KENESI [PEOPLE'S SOVIETS]. Their publication has been timed to coincide with the opening of the first session of the Kazakh SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] Supreme Soviet, 12th convocation.

The publisher of these weeklies is the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet Presidium. The first issue carries an address of welcome to the new publications and their readers from N. Nazarbayev, chairman of the Kazakh SSR Supreme Soviet and first secretary of the Kazakh Communist Party Central Committee. It also includes material on soviet work experience and the problems of the cooperative movement and the development of leasehold relations, as well as a questionnaire to establish attitudes to presidential power in the republic.

'Hooligans' Defile Lenin Monument Despite Guard

PM2604112390 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 26 Apr 90 First Edition p 1

[Colonel A. Ladin report under the "Direct Line" rubric: "Unforgivable Assault"]

[Text] Tselinograd—As the republic newspaper KAZAKHSTANSKAYA PRAVDA reported on 24 April, an act of vandalism was committed in Tselinograd during the night of 21 April. Some unidentified people defiled monuments to V.I. Lenin in front of the party oblast committee building and on the square in front of the "Tselinogradselmash" plant.

The oblast Internal Affairs Administration organs have opened a file on the crime. Investigations are proceeding. The fact that the hooligans dared to commit their cynical outrage in a place where militiamen are on permanent point duty raises questions. Specifically, how could the guardians of public order have allowed such a thing to happen?

Tashkent Oblast Hit by Expected Mudslide

PM2504125990 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 25 Apr 90 Morning Edition p 3

[Sh. Zaynutdinov "On the Spot Report": "A Mudslide That Was Expected"]

[Text] Roads washed down, homes flooded, orchards and vegetable gardens under a layer of mud, bridges and stock units destroyed, livestock killed. All this damage was caused by the elements in the foothills of Southwest Tien Shan.

Weathermen from the republic's hydrometeorological service issued a storm warning the day before—there was a danger of mud torrents breaking through in the mountain regions of Tashkent Oblast, specifically in Bostanlykskiy Rayon which had previously suffered the ravages of mudslides. The rayon made its preparations in good time. People were successfully moved away—almost 10,000 persons were evacuated. But the settlements and villages of "Leningrad," Frunze, and "Kyzyl-Tu" kolkhozes [collective farms] were hit. Considerable damage was also caused at "Novgorod" sovkhoz [state farm].

A government commission was set up under I. Dzhurabekov, first deputy chairman of the republic's Council of Ministers. I. Karimov, president of the Uzbek SSR [Soviet Socialist Republic] and first secretary of the Uzbek Communist Party Central Committee, and Sh. Mirsaidov, chairman of the Uzbek SSR Council of Ministers, arrived in the damage area immediately after the elements had struck. Immediate measures to eliminate the disaster's consequences were planned jointly with leaders of the Civil Defense Staff, ministries, and departments.

Salvage and restoration work began without any delay. Subdivisions of the republic's Ministry of Highways, Ministry of Water Resources, Ministry of Construction, and other departments are clearing the highways and repairing power transmission and communications lines. Families which have suffered will receive R300 each from the republican budget. Furthermore, organs of the Main Administration for State Insurance are prepared to settle insurance claims following an investigation of the damage.

The government commission plans urgent studies in all zones of Tashkent Oblast where mudslides, landslides, or flash floods either have occurred or could occur. There is a further danger that semicollapsed and flooded homes and other buildings could come down at any moment....